

Monday February 9 1998

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Andorra FF 10
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Bulgaria LV 1.50
Canada C\$ 3.50
Croatia HR 1.50
Cyprus C\$ 1.50
Denmark DK 1.50
Estonia EE 1.50
Finland FM 1.50
France FF 1.50
Germany DM 1.50
Greece G 1.50
Hungary H 1.50
Ireland NIS 1.50
Italy L 1.50
Japan Y 1.50
Korea W 1.50
Latvia L 1.50
Lithuania LT 1.50
Luxembourg LF 1.50
Malta M 1.50
Morocco D 1.50
Netherlands G 1.50
Norway N 1.50
Oman O 1.50
Poland P 1.50
Portugal P 1.50
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INTERNATIONAL

The Guardian

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

How Daniel Day-Lewis took to The Boxer

Hand in glove

G2 with European weather



French Lesson

Woodward contemplates another defeat

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Media

Queen Tina: Ms Brown speaks

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The girl from Ipanema goes dancing...



Revellers in Ipanema parade to a samba band rhythm at the weekend in the run-up to Rio de Janeiro's carnival on February 21. PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERTO GOSWAMI

US risks 'new Vietnam' in Gulf

Former Desert Storm chief warns that bombing may help Saddam

David Sharrock, Middle East Correspondent, and Martin Kettle in Washington

THE United States risks another Vietnam if it bombs Iraq, the former Desert Storm commander, General Norman Schwarzkopf, warned yesterday as more countries joined the tide of opposition to air strikes against Saddam Hussein.

Speaking hours before the American secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, again cautioned the Iraqi leader that time was running out, and that retaliation for non-compliance with weapons inspections would be "substantial", Gen Schwarzkopf told NBC television: "We run the risk of doing the same thing we did to North Vietnam."

In the Vietnam war, US bombing was escalated without achieving military or political goals. "It's definitely a risk," said Gen Schwarzkopf. "What after that?"

He predicted sustained bombing would have no effect on President Saddam's defiance of the United Nations disarmament regime imposed on Iraq after it was forced out of Kuwait in the 1991 war. Indeed, such action might smother the fragile international coalition and wreck the sanctions against Baghdad.

President Saddam, he said, "wants the sanctions lifted, and if the coalition fractures he has a good chance of having the sanctions lifted. So he may not mind a big strike."

Iran yesterday joined the chorus of opposition to military action by warning the US to stay out of the Gulf. "We

will not tolerate any violation of Iranian airspace or territorial water," the defence minister, Ali Shamkhani, told a news conference in Tehran.

The warning - issued as more positive Iranian-US relations appear poised to resume - highlighted the danger that military action against Iraq may escalate into a regional confrontation.

"The US is certainly after a showdown in the region and pursues the continuation and intensification of its presence in the Gulf," the Iranian air force commander, Brigadier-General Habib Bagheri, said.

Iran has repeatedly urged intensified diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis, while insisting Iraq must allow weapons inspections.

Earlier, Saudi Arabia dashed US hopes that it might allow air strikes from its bases when the defence minister, Prince Sultan, declared his opposition. Last night the US defence secretary, William Cohen, was due to meet King

Fahd in Jeddah on the first leg of a three-day tour of the Gulf to prepare the ground for an attack.

"We'll not agree, and we are against striking Iraq as a people and as a nation," Prince Sultan was quoted by the English-language daily Arab News. "At the same time, we [tell] Saddam Hussein to abide by the UN resolutions in order to protect his people and end their seven-year suffering."

Egypt and Morocco also declared against the use of force, as the 22-member Arab League revealed it had sent new proposals to the UN Security Council. The peace plan "would satisfy [UN] demands to allow its inspectors to enter sites suspected of producing weapons of mass destruction, while preserving Iraq's dignity and sovereignty," the league's secretary-general, Esmat Abdel-Meguid, said.

In Baghdad, the Russian envoy, Viktor Posolayuk, met twice with Iraq's deputy prime

minister, Tariq Aziz, state television reported. The envoy also telephoned the UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan.

Russia's proposals to defuse the crisis over inspection of Iraq's "presidential sites" by the weapons experts would widen the composition of inspection teams and fix a time limit for their work, according to diplomatic sources. The inspectors would have unrestricted access for between 30 and 60 days to the eight "presidential sites" at the centre of the dispute. The plan will be presented to the Security Council this week.

Tony Blair renewed his threats of military action yesterday, as several government spokesmen went on the offensive. Britain is preparing to send eight Tornados to the Gulf "within the next few days", a Ministry of Defence spokesman said. Support craft are already there.

Europe at odds, page 7; Peter Preston, page 5



Sidelined: ministers won't see Alan Shearer score

Ministers as sick as parrots at World Cup ban

Anne Perkins Political Correspondent

CABINET ministers are furious that the Prime Minister has banned them from World Cup matches to stop the Tories accusing them of enjoying the trappings of office.

"It's outrageous," one said after hearing he would not be travelling to France

In June after all. Several cabinet ministers are known football fanatics.

Last October Gordon Brown, the Chancellor, went to Italy to take in the key England-Italy qualifier, but, so he could watch the really vital match, Scotland v Estonia, the British embassy was forced hurriedly to find an employee with a satellite dish.

Others likely to be disappointed include the Education Secretary, David Blunkett, and the Home Secretary, Jack Straw. Mr Straw may get an exemption for some games on the grounds that he is ultimately responsible for the behaviour of English fans. Donald Dewar, the Scottish Secretary, may get to some of Scotland's games for the same reason.

The Tories are triumphant: "It shows his hypersensitivity to recent

charges that their snouts are in the trough," chorled one Central Office spokesman. "I'm sure Mr Hague will go to several games."

In a move bound to provoke jealousy among colleagues, Tony Blair himself will also attend some matches.

A Downing Street spokesman said last night: "He will certainly go to first round matches of both England and Scotland. Perhaps

it's just as well that Wales and Northern Ireland didn't qualify."

But Mr Blair definitely won't be at England's opening game in Marseille on June 15, the first day of the European summit.

Mr Blair's deputy press secretary said of the ban: "Tickets are hard enough to come by without having the stands full of cabinet ministers travelling at the taxpayers' expense."

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Blair sets sights on modernisation of local government and tries to promote idea of directly-elected mayors with executive powers

Councillors told to stamp out sleaze

Anne Perkins
Political Correspondent

CORRUPTION among councillors must be stamped out, Tony Blair said yesterday as he added the modernisation of local government to his project of modernising Britain.

With a series of Labour sleaze cases in local government threatening to tarnish the party nationally, the Prime Minister said: "I know corruption is not widespread, but one case is too many."

As the party — once dogged by tales of "loony left" political correctness in local government — prepares to defend a record number of council seats in May, Mr Blair put cleaning up local government at the heart of his programme to revive local involvement and restore respect.

Speaking at Labour's local government conference in Scarborough, Mr Blair promised to implement many of the recommendations from the Nolan committee's report on conduct in local government, including a "model" national code of conduct. It will be up to local councils to introduce their own code, but it must include a system for investigating independently all allegations of malpractice. "Councillors and officials who are incompetent, or worse still corrupt, not only undermine their own claims to leadership, but tarnish the reputation of local government," he said.

Mr Blair also tried to persuade the audience of councillors and local party workers to welcome the idea of directly-elected mayors. Labour modernisers long to replace the traditional long-serving local bigwig in a gold chain of office with executive mayors, "with real power, getting things done for people."

He tried to beguile councillors with a portrait of a new role for them too. "Instead of spending your time in fruitless meetings, you will be able to scrutinise in detail what council leaders are doing. Not wasting time in meetings will mean you'll be able to spend more time in your local communities."

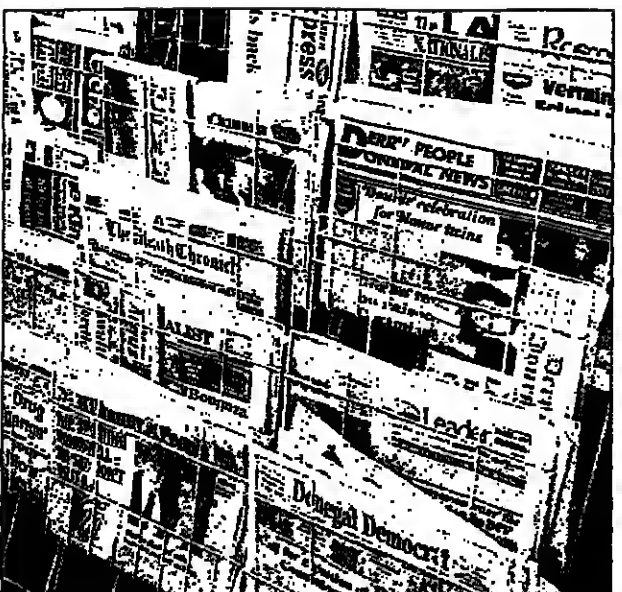
But he warned councillors they could not expect the automatic return of powers taken during the past 18 years of Tory rule unless they embraced change. "If you accept these challenges, if you take part in the process of reform, then at national government level you will not find us wanting."

The Government is backing a bill introduced by the former senior civil servant, Lord Hunt of Tanworth, which would give councils the power to organise their structure as they would like. It is hoped it will lead to individual councils in cities to begin with, making a success of the new mayoral idea.

Mr Blair berated local councils for low turn-outs at elections. "The claims of local councils to speak and act for local people are too often weakened by their poor base of popular support," he said, pointing out that nearly half of all councillors are over 55, and both women and ethnic minorities are underestimated.

He suggested new techniques — postal voting, shopping centre polling stations and voting at weekends — to raise the turnout, which can be as low as 25 per cent. The Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott will today publish proposals aimed at renewing local democracy.

Only group whose life expectancy declines on arrival in UK



Irish papers on sale in Kilburn, north London, and one of the community's Irish pubs, right. Many immigrants feel isolated, and turn to alcohol. PHOTOGRAPHS: MARTIN GOODWIN

Concern over health of Irish immigrants

Owen Bowcott

IRISH immigrants suffer poorer physical and mental health than any other minority in Britain. They have one of the highest levels of alcohol abuse, are 50 per cent more likely to commit suicide than British-born people, and are the only immigrant group whose life expectancy declines on arrival in England.

Immigrants from the Republic of Ireland have such high rates of illness that they should be recorded as a separate ethnic category to aid further research, a report in the latest issue of the British Journal of Psychiatry suggests.

Irish men are nine times more likely to suffer from alcohol related disorders and are 3½ times more prone to depression. They are more than 50 per cent more likely to commit suicide.

The survey, by Patrick Bracken of the University of Bradford and several co-authors, reflects growing concern about social disadvantage among the Irish community.

The problem is not limited to those born in the republic, the report says. Their second generation children also suffer a far higher mortality rate than native English counterparts.

The gradual accumulation of psychiatric evidence about the ill-health of the Irish in Britain, hampered by a shortage of reliable statistics, comes at a time when emigration patterns have undergone profound change.

In the past, Irish immigration consisted predominantly of unskilled labourers in search of manual work. Those who stayed settled in traditional Irish communities, such as Kilburn, in north London.

More recently there has been an influx of university-educated professionals who have found middle class jobs. Like Australians and New Zealanders, they often work for a while before returning home.

The conversion of hundreds of ailing British pubs to Irish theme bars, combined with the popularity of Guinness and the resurgence of Irish traditional music, might suggest that Irish identity is less under threat than before.

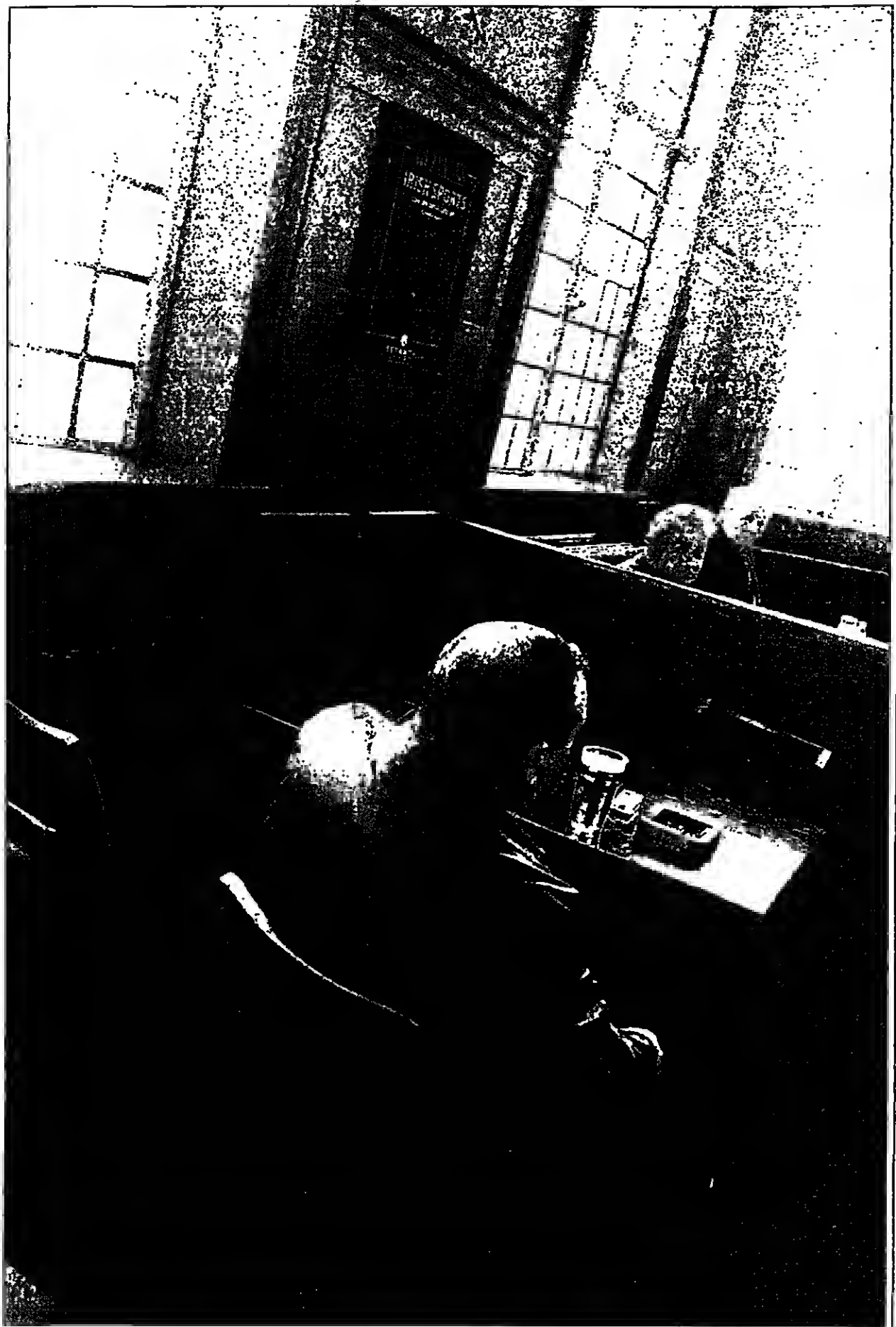
But conditions for the Irish in Britain, Dr Bracken maintains, are far worse than for those who emigrate to the United States. "The Irish are treated quite differently in America and have no hesitancy in asserting their Irishness, unlike here."

Unlike New York, there is no St Patrick's Day parade in London. "Even their British-born children die younger. Far from getting the better life they expected, they are likely to suffer more mental illness, more health problems and die younger than any other ethnic group."

"We can't be sure of the causes for this very high rate of mental and physical illness," said Dr Bracken, who is from the republic. "But decades of living to a country which has suffered enormous damage from IRA attacks must play on their minds."

"It makes them feel people will associate them with the guilty men and blame them. An end to terrorist violence could start to make a big difference to Irish immigrants' mental health here."

There are estimated to be 2.5 million Irish people living in Britain. Last year Manchester City council decided that it would classify Irish people as a distinct ethnic group after a report by its social services department found they suffered the poorest health and faced prejudice and discrimination.



How the ceasefires have helped to lift the clouds

JERRY KIVLEHAN, director of the London Irish Centre in Camden, is convinced that paramilitary ceasefires in Northern Ireland have helped make Irish music and culture fashionable.

But among the Irish community in Britain, he knows, many still find life isolating and difficult. Mental health problems are common, writes Owen Bowcott.

"When people didn't succeed in Ireland, there was still hope of finding success here. When that doesn't

happen it can trigger a sense of failure and bring on depression which can be made worse by taking to alcohol," said Mr Kivlehan.

"About two-thirds of those coming over now are highly qualified. They are here to enhance their careers. Those who return are the ones who can afford to buy property or set up businesses."

As the republic's economy has prospered, the tide has turned. Last year 30,000 Irish people moved into the United Kingdom but 35,000 returned home.

"The other third who come here have not been able to find employment in Ireland. They have problems trying to find places to live and obtain benefits, and that creates all sorts of pressures and stress."

"For years as well, the Troubles were always in the background. Irish people felt subdued. When the ceasefires were declared, people felt like the clouds were lifted away — and that was when Irish theme pubs became fashionable."

No dub, no stars and not so manic now or ever

Review

Garth Cartwright

Dubstar
Shepherds Bush Empire

DUBSTAR are a tough group to describe. The Newcastle trio have had a couple of hits and sold a very respectable 200,000 copies of their 1995 debut album *Disgraceful* but... what? exactly.

Watching them work the Empire's stage one can admire their approach to pop's work ethic, hum along with the hits, note how seamless the set

appears to be and feel exasperated at how difficult it is to describe this worthy, faceless outfit.

Having formed in 1994 and hit the charts in 1995, Dubstar's bandwagon slowed last year when album number two, *Goodbye*, did less than startling business.

While *Goodbye* differed little from *Disgraceful*, Dubstar's falling was to display any distinguishing characteristics that would make punters return for a second helping of their sweet synthesised pop.

Consisting of two blokes playing guitar and keyboard and vocalist Sarah Blackwood, Dubstar are the first

1990s act to sound 1980s retro. Best described as a cross between The Smiths and Soft Cell, Dubstar produce slim pop symphonies mixing kitchen sink angst with fat synthesised melodies.

Sounding so familiar has helped them on to the radio and given them a following in Sweden, Finland and Israel but also makes them easy to forget.

In concert, Dubstar are beginning to stretch. For the first time they are touring with bass, drums and backing vocals. They are also extending themselves by playing established rock venues, their last London date being at gay disco Mecca, Heaven.

At the Empire Dubstar are trying. Guitarist Chris Wilkie is higher in the mix and they play with a formal toughness that links them to the indie canon.

This helps offset the sugary nature of much of their melodies and, with a solid rhythm section pushing the sound forward they possess a crunch not heard on their records.

Yet for a band who possess a sizeable following and are on their third tour of the UK, Dubstar still appear crippled by shyness and refuse to be animated on stage.

Their biggest hit, *Not So Manic Now*, seems particularly ironic as they are the least manic band imaginable.

Blackwood sings well but, outside of muttering "I'm nervous" and sipping beer, refuses to bring the songs to life. And this is frustrating as Dubstar's best songs hint at a marriage of Irish pop and social realism not quite realised.

Perhaps for a band so self-consciously northern — many of their songs sound like extracts from Billy Liar — they find playing in the South something of an ordeal.

Perhaps they were simply a lucky fluke, carried along on the tidal wave of Britpop that swamped 1995. But for a band that feature no dub in their music and no stars in their line-up, Dubstar are in danger of appearing invisible.

New sex-case leak fails to hurt Clinton in polls

Martin Kettle in Washington

THE Monica Lewinsky affair took an extraordinary turn yesterday when a newspaper published a leaked copy of a key document in the sexual harassment case against President Clinton by Paula Jones.

The development coincided with an intensifying campaign by the White House and Mr Clinton's lawyers to brand the special counsel, Kenneth Starr, as politically motivated and unprofessional — and with a new opinion poll that showed Mr Clinton's approval rating at new heights.

Without saying how it had obtained the document, the New York Times published what it claimed was the text of the potentially explosive "talking points" memorandum Ms Lewinsky is alleged to have given her friend, Linda Tripp, on January 14 to help her prepare her evidence to Ms Jones's lawyers.

Ms Jones, a former Arkansas state employee, has accused Mr Clinton of sexual harassment while he was governor of the state. Her case has become intertwined with that of Ms Lewinsky, who allegedly had an affair with Mr Clinton while she was a White House intern.

If genuine, the document shows a conspiracy to prepare evidence about Mr Clinton's sexual history to Ms Jones's lawyers which would show him in an innocent light.

Lawyers in Mr Starr's office, who possess a copy of the memorandum, are attempting to discover its author. If the memorandum could be sourced to any of Mr Clinton's lawyers or advisers it would be crucial evidence in charges of perjury or interference with justice.

Mr Starr came under fresh assault from the White House when a top presidential adviser, Paul Begala, said he was "out of control" and his office was "worthy of investigation". Mr Clinton's lawyer, David Kendall, indicated he would take Mr Starr to court today to try to have him found guilty of contempt for allowing his office to leak details of the case to the media.

Ms Lewinsky's lawyer, William Ginsburg, accused Mr Starr of making "reckless and insane accusations" and of "attempting to evade responsibility for his office's unethical, unlawful and abusive acts".

But the publication of the "talking points" memorandum was the day's most remarkable development, not least because the New York Times buried it on page 30 of yesterday's edition.

It came amid separate claims that Mr Clinton tried to pressure his secretary, Betty Currie, as recently as January 18 to give evidence to Mr Starr which corroborated his statements to Ms Jones's lawyers.

Most of the unsigned three-page memorandum details suggestions that a witness (presumably Ms Tripp) should modify testimony that a White House aide, Kathleen Willey, was seen leaving Mr Clinton's office in a dishevelled state.

The document suggests: "You now do not believe that what she [Ms Willey] claimed happened, really happened. You never saw her go into the Oval Office or come out of the Oval Office". The final sentence states: "I have never observed the president behave inappropriately."

Although the document does not name Ms Lewinsky,

"She turned out to be a huge liar. She left because she was stalking the P"

It includes advice which says, "By the way, remember how I said there was someone else that I knew about. Well she turned out to be a huge liar. I found out she left the WH [White House] because she was stalking the P [president]."

In a separate development yesterday, Newsweek published allegations that Ms Lewinsky confided details about a sexual relationship with Mr Clinton to another White House aide, Ashley Raines. In addition to Ms Tripp, Ms Raines was said to have heard messages left by Mr Clinton on Ms Lewinsky's answering machine.

None of these allegations has had any negative impact on the president's opinion poll ratings, a new survey confirmed yesterday. An NBC TV/Wall Street Journal poll put his approval ratings at 79 per cent, another record high. And 65 per cent of those surveyed said Mr Clinton should not resign even if he did lie about his relationship with Ms Lewinsky.

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Mass public land sale infuriates ramblers

Peter Hetherington and Oliver Tickell

TWENTY-SIX thousand acres of prime land have been sold by the Forestry Commission since a moratorium on sales was announced after the general election, infuriating ramblers and countryside groups.

The commission — Britain's biggest landowner — has recently advertised large areas of countryside for sale, throwing into turmoil the Government's policy of protecting public land.

It claims it has to meet tough financial guidelines set by the last government, and also has a legal responsibility to complete deals agreed before the May election.

This explanation is challenged by countryside groups and Labour MPs who believe many contracts had not been exchanged before the election and argue that the commission, which owns 2.5 million acres, stretching from northern Scotland to the South-west — including some of Britain's most spectacular mountain scenery — has effectively changed policy.

It has done so by distinguishing between "forest land", covered by the moratorium, and sites earmarked for future planting and farmland as well as buildings, which are regarded as suitable for sale.

In an Estates Gazette advertisement, the commission recently invited offers for more than 1,500 acres in Perth and Kinross and 3,000 acres in the Highlands, most of which is a protected site of special scientific interest.

Alan Mattingley, director of the Ramblers' Association, denounced the sales as a breach of a long-held Labour commitment. "This distinction between forest and non-forest land is entirely new," he said. "Ministers in Parliament are saying the moratorium still applies, but they have failed to announce what is clearly an important change of policy."

The association is alarmed because the "non-forest land" owned by the commission includes some of the most popular hill walking areas, such as tracts above the tree-line near the Pennine Way in the Border Forest Park, hills in the Galloway Forest Park, and the famous Craggy Mountain in the Argyll Forest Park.

"The thought of country like that being sold would horrify us," Mr Mattingley added. "Many of these unplanted areas are the most attractive parts for walkers."

The Labour MP for Sherwood, Paddy Tipping, said he had been assured by the Government last year that all sales had stopped. "They said there was no question of selling land and it seems to me now that something funny is going on," he added.

Mr Tipping, a keen walker, is alarmed because access is often denied once state forests are sold. Although the commission tries to get "voluntary access agreements" with buyers of forests, it has no policy for non-forest land.

A commission spokesman insisted there had been no policy change. It had not placed advertisements for sale, rather, it had merely "notified the fact that we were considering selling... so that interested organisations could consider buying". But to meet tough financial guidelines, it acknowledged it would be selling "non-forest land" not suitable for planting, as well as buildings.

In a letter to the Guardian today, the commission's director-general, David Bills, says the commission intends to buy 1,000 acres of new land this year, while acquiring the freeholds of 5,200 acres to improve public access.

Countryside groups, however, fear the commission will accelerate sales to meet targets set by the Conservative government, which ruled it must raise £20 million this year and £25 million the next, rising to £40 million in the 1999-2000 financial year.

Experts calculate that this will require the sale of a further 116,000 acres.

Letters, page 6

Maverick politician dies at 85

Vivek Chaudhary

THE END, when it came, was announced in a simple, three-line statement that probably would not have pleased the man who prided himself on his fiery orations and wizardry with words and languages.

Mr Enoch Powell died peacefully this morning after being taken to King Edward hospital (Birmingham) yesterday. He had been suffering from Parkinson's Disease. The funeral arrangements have yet to be made.

As tributes poured in for Mr Powell, who was 85, they reflected the life of a maverick politician seen by some as one of the greatest free-thinking intellectuals of his generation, and by others as the man who single-handedly contributed most to the demise of race relations in Britain.

Love him or loathe him, Mr Powell's chequered career and infamous 1958 "rivers of blood" speech in which he warned of the dangers of immigration, continued until his death to be the hallmarks of a man who prided himself on speaking his mind.

The Prime Minister yesterday described him as one of the "greatest figures of 20th century British politics, with a brilliant mind".

He said: "However much we disagreed with many of his views, there was no doubting the strength of his convictions or their sincerity, or his tenacity in pursuing them, regardless of his own political self-interest."

Blood stains

'Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad. We must be mad, literally mad... It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre. I am filled with foreboding. Like the Roman, I seem to see the Tiber foaming with much blood'

Speech at Birmingham, April 1968

ans of his generation. He fearlessly championed ideas about free enterprise, economics and free trade at a time when it ran wholly counter to the conventional wisdom of the day.

Baroness Thatcher, who drew much inspiration from Mr Powell's views on free trade, Europe and his anti-immigrant stance, said yesterday: "There will never be another Enoch. He was magnetic. Listening to his speeches was an unforgettable privilege. He was one of those rare people who made a difference and whose moral

compass led us in the right direction."

Mr Powell, who became an Ulster Unionist MP after quitting the Conservatives, was described by John Taylor, the party's deputy leader, as a great colleague and true companion. "We in Northern Ireland benefited much from his wisdom and guidance during the onslaught of Irish nationalism against the people of Ulster."

But despite Mr Powell's undoubted brilliance — he was a classical scholar and poet who spoke 12 languages, including Urdu — he will always be remembered by black Britons for his misguided and hostile views on immigration.

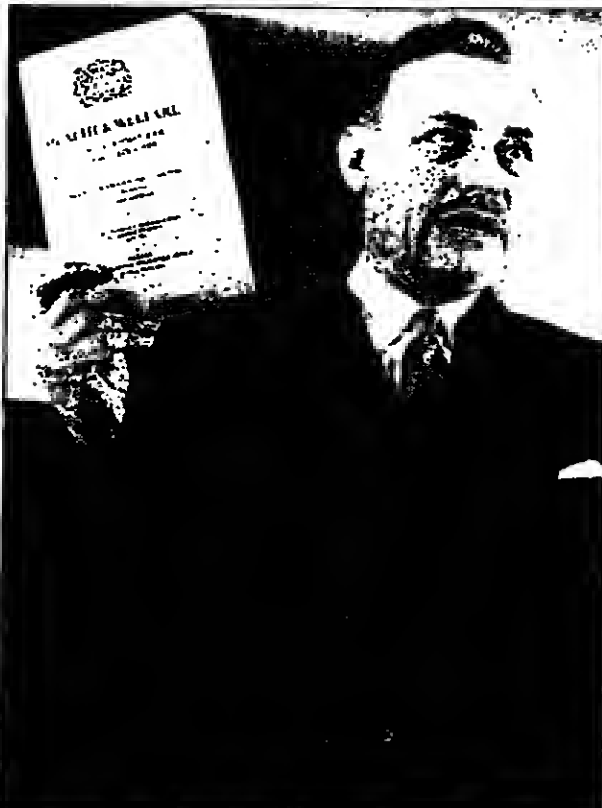
TUC leader Bill Morris, who was working in Birmingham when Mr Powell made his "rivers of blood" speech there, said: "The effect of his speech was like an earthquake hitting us."

"It left a lot of black people traumatised, and there was a noticeable change in attitude towards us; we faced more hostility and abuse. His speech had a dramatic effect on race relations."

Mr Morris added: "Mr Powell has clearly been proved wrong. He will be remembered as one of the greatest intellectuals of his generation, whose brilliant brain was clearly misdirected."

Claude Moraes, director of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, said: "The rivers of blood speech opened the way for people and politicians who were feeling disquiet over immigration."

"Ultimately, Mr Powell will be seen as a multi-faceted politician whom history has judged to be wrong. He was a statesman with great political skills but used them for destructive purposes."



Right turn... Enoch Powell with Edward Heath, the Tory leader who sacked him (top); as health minister in 1963 (above); campaigning against the EEC (below left); and marching in Ulster



Enoch Powell: scholar, soldier, minister, rebel

June 6, 1912: Born in Birmingham. Educated at the city's King Edward's school and then Trinity College, Cambridge.

1934: Elected a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Four years later, aged 26, becomes professor of Greek at Sydney University.

1944: Becomes a brigadier on the general staff, having risen from private.

1950: Elected as MP for Wolverhampton South-West, which he holds for 24 years.

1953: Marries Pamela Wilson and has two daughters.

1958: Resigns as financial secretary to the Treasury over government plans for increased public spending. Marks himself out as an early monetarist.

1963: Two years after returning to the government as a minister for health, he leaves again after refusing to serve with Iain MacLeod in Alec Douglas-Home's administration.

1964: Candidate for the Conservative Party leadership. Edward Heath wins and Powell is humiliated, garnering 15 votes. Agrees to serve as shadow transport spokesman. Later moves to defence.

1968: "Rivers of blood" speech in Birmingham leads to his sacking by Heath. Dockers march in his support, but Powell would never hold office in the Tory party again.

1974, February: After exclusion from Heath's government, Powell drops an 11th-hour bombshell before the February general election: he announces he will not seek re-election because of his opposition to Heath's pro-Common Market stance. Urges support for Labour, who win narrowly.

1974, October: Stands for the Ulster Unionists and wins the seat of Down South.

1978: Voted personality of the year by BBC Radio listeners.

1987: Loses his seat by 761 votes. Continues speaking out, especially on immigration and Europe and continues career as an author.

One big shop for a woman, one small donation for womankind

Rosaleen Nicoll

It is billed as the guilt-free credit card, a sop to the conscience of women faced with the material urge in a boutique full of the shimmering, chic and sensual.

"Now women can spend with impunity," said Rosemary Dunnage, a spokeswoman for the charity Womankind Worldwide, which has linked up with the Bank of Scotland to produce the fund-raising credit card.

For three pints, or £900, Womankind will receive enough to pay a community worker in India for a month or buy a milking goat and two chickens in Africa. Most women feel terribly guilty when they go out shopping.

Ms Dunnage believes buying chickens in Africa rather than at Sainsbury's will make women feel better about themselves.

For every £100 spent on the credit card, the charity gets 25p from the bank, which it will spend on one of about 100 projects it helps to fund around the world.

Womankind was set up nine years ago by Alec Reed, of Reed Employment.

"He realised that aid going to foreign countries always ended up going to the men, but worked out that 80 per cent of the work is done by women in developing nations," Ms Dunnage said.

The charity works in Latin America, Africa and India helping to fund groups fighting poverty, overpopulation and abuse.

Caryn Franklin, presenter of BBC's The Clothes Show, said the card would do no harm. "I would choose a credit card like this," she said. "If you are privileged enough to choose between dusky pink and neon-cyclamen and you have a conscience, you will want to help."

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Beckett to meet backbenchers bent on holding ministers to manifesto pledge on rights

MPs in union rebellion

Anne Perkins
Political Correspondent

LABOUR MPs threatening a rebellion over union recognition in the workplace will meet Margaret Beckett, Trade and Industry Secretary, on Thursday amid concern that Downing Street is backsliding over the party's election manifesto commitment.

More than 80 backbenchers met a week ago in what was described as a rebellious mood. Afterwards one said: "This issue could make the lone parent rebellion look like a tea party."

But the MPs are worried

that open revolt will play into their opponents' hands.

Some MPs and trade unionists fear that the issue could be used to provoke a clash over the link between Labour and the unions which would hasten its end.

Yesterday John Prescott, Deputy Prime Minister, insisted that nothing had been decided. "Our pledge to restore recognition was in the manifesto. The question is how to interpret these rights," he said.

The row centres on the pledge to restore recognition "where a majority of the relevant workforce vote in a ballot for the union to represent them".

Ministers and the TUC are

playing down talk of a row. A briefing document on ways Labour has helped the unions since taking power is being circulated to try to defuse the tension.

It includes ending check-off — making union members regularly re-authorise the deduction of their subscriptions from salaries — as well as introducing the minimum wage and joining the Social Chapter.

But unions, already furious that the public sector pay awards for teachers and nurses are to be phased in, are watching developments critically.

"They've made it clear this [union recognition] is the bottom line," a backbencher

with strong union connections said last night.

Gerry Sutcliffe, MP for Bradford South and chairman of an informal group of union MPs, said: "If the work ethic is all important to the Government, and it's quite right that it is, then it follows that fairness at work and employment rights must also be crucial."

There is a series of issues over union rights in which the Confederation of British Industry and the Trades Union Congress have failed to agree. The biggest is over whose votes counts.

Last week Adair Turner, CBI director general, argued that recognition should be granted only where more

than 50 per cent of those entitled to vote support it. The unions argue that only a majority of those taking part in the ballot should be required.

Among other unresolved questions are: what size company should be exempt, how to decide who the relevant workforce is and whether individuals can opt out of union recognition.

The CBI wants to exempt companies employing fewer than 50. The TUC, arguing that that would exclude half the UK workforce, says companies employing more than 20 should be covered.

The CBI wants employers to define who should be balloted. The TUC wants a code of practice.

Ignorance blamed for high unplanned pregnancy rate

Sarah Boseley

WHILE sexual freedom is established in our culture, contraception is not, the Family Planning Association warned yesterday on the release of an opinion poll showing marked gaps in public awareness of ways of avoiding pregnancy.

The poll and the declaration of this week as Contraceptive Awareness Week by four leading birth control organisations amount to a further shot across the Government's bow after the failure over the issue of abortion.

The poll, conducted by the National Health Service, shows that only 10 per cent of the population are aware of the full range of contraceptive methods available.

Half of all pregnancies are still unplanned and one in five ends in termination, the Alliance, consisting of the FPA, Health Education Authority, Brook Advisory Cen-

tres and the Birth Control Trust, pointed out.

Its poll, commissioned from NOP, which surveyed 1,000 people aged 16-49, found that only 30 per cent realised that the morning-after pill is effective up to 72 hours after unprotected sex.

Only 62 per cent knew that a woman registered with one GP can register with another for contraception, while 24 per cent wrongly believed that a doctor who gave contraceptive advice to a girl of 15 would have to tell her parents.

The Alliance is concerned that some family planning clinics are closing for lack of funds, and others are taking only those aged under 25, or even 20. Yet among the over-40s the pregnancy termination rate rises to one in three, and although there may be a number of reasons for this, the Alliance says contraception is an important factor.

The assumption of an over-

lap between clinics and the GPs in providing contraception is mistaken, it says. In rural areas especially, people may be unwilling to go to the GP who knows their family. A 1996 study by Roger Ingham of Southampton University found "an association between distance between youth-oriented clinics and the probability of conceiving, such that those living further than 3km away had a higher chance of conception".

Margaret Jones, chief executive of the Brook Advisory Centre, said: "Britain still has one of the highest rates of teenage pregnancy in Europe. If we are to bring these numbers down we need to provide more information about contraception in sex education at home and at school, so that teenagers are prepared before they become sexually active. We have to publicise local services, like Brook, in places such as schools, colleges, pubs and clubs."



The Prince of Wales (right) with refugees at the Maiti Nepal home in Kathmandu, and Tamung Cameli (left), sold into prostitution in India after being snatched from her family



Charles meets kidnap victims and Gurkhas in Nepal and lunches with water-skiing king, Luke Harding is following royal tour

Princely squeeze for HIV sufferer rescued from brothel

IT WAS only a sympathetic squeeze of the arm, but the symbolism was unmistakable.

Tamung Cameli, who had been kidnapped from her home in Nepal and sold into prostitution, had waited in line.

When the Prince of Wales came to shake her hand, she bowed deeply then faltered. Sensing she was about to burst into tears, he gave her a pat above her elbow.

That Tamung was HIV positive, the consequence of five years in a Bombay

brothel, should have made no difference. But somehow it did. To suggest that Charles was empathising with his late wife, Diana, as he

toured a centre for rescued girl prostitutes in Kathmandu would be wide of the mark. Diana would have embraced Tamung.

But though Charles may be old-fashioned, a trifle ridiculous and a Windsor to his fingertips, nobody can accuse him of being cold-hearted. He seemed genuinely moved as he shook hands with 10 other HIV positive girls — as they

were by him. The prince had come yesterday to visit the Maiti Nepal centre to draw attention to the girl trafficking. Every year

around 5,000 Nepalese girls are lured from their homes in the Himalayan foothills and sold on to brothels in India.

A handful are rescued, often after rape, torture and sexual abuse. They find refuge in a compound near the airport, run by a formidable matriarch.

The prince arrived from an international school in Kathmandu, where the

mainly Western children had sung a mawkish version of Michael Jackson's *We Are the World*.

The contrast could not have been greater. Forty orphaned children aged between three and eight sang Nepalese songs. The mood was sombre. The prince posed with girls and staff.

"I was sold at the age of 17 for 15,000 rupees (£150)," said Tamung, aged 22, afterwards. She had been thrown out of the brothel after she contracted the HIV virus. Her family did not want her

back. And what did she make of Charles? "The tears came down," she said. "The next stop was lunch with King Birendra at his palace in Pokhara. The king is the only person allowed to use a motorboat on the lake."

He is an accomplished water-skiier — Nepal's only water-skiier.

The prince left by helicopter for Besishabar. Normally, the only Western visitors are backpackers. The entire village had turned out to watch the five helicopters land on a field.

The band banged cymbals and blew horns. The prince walked through the high street lined with clapping schoolchildren before heading off up the hillside.

Waiting for him at the Gurkha Welfare Centre was Bhan Bhagta Gurung, aged 76, who won the Victoria Cross in Burma in 1945 after slaying four

bunkers and killing two Japanese soldiers with a Nepalese hunting knife. Was he worried about the fact that Gurkha pensioners were paid far less than their British counterparts?

A little, he replied. As one of only seven VCs in Nepal he gets £1,300 a year from the British Government.

The prince asked him: "Are you keeping well?" Several other elderly former Gurkhas stood in line. "Are you keeping well?" he asked another gap-toothed veteran.

"I have no wife," the man replied, grinning vigorously and nodding. Prince Charles last night was handed a petition in Kathmandu by Bhutanese dissidents urging him to intervene with the King of

Bhutan over the plight of refugees who have been ethnically cleansed from the kingdom. Charles flies into Bhutan today. Privately, his aides said he was highly unlikely to raise the issue with King Wangchuck.

Nearly a fifth of Bhutan's population has been evicted over the past seven years. The majority are Nepalese speakers, driven out by government troops, who belong to the Drukpas ruling ethnic group. Over 92,000 Bhutanese now live in refugee camps in eastern Nepal.

Fayed denies child claim

Fazliah Nicol

A WOMAN's claims that Dodi Fayed's death, born nine months before he died in the Paris car crash, were dismissed as "cruel and wicked" yesterday by a spokesman for his father, Mohammed Al Fayed.

Diane Holliday, a 36-year-old hotel consultant, claimed she and Dodi had been having a five-month affair from late 1995 into 1996. She gave birth to Marni in a US hospital in November 1996 but immediately gave the child up for adoption.

Ms Holliday now wants the child back. She has appointed Douglas Alexiou, a respected solicitor whose clients have included the Duchess of York, in act for her. By making the claims, Ms Holliday has become embroiled in the long-running feud between Mohammed Al Fayed and the businessman Tiny Rowland.

Ms Holliday is believed to have received money from both.

Ms Holliday approached Mr Al Fayed after Dodi's death by leaving a letter with security guards at his son's grave. The two later met at Harrods and Mr Al Fayed gave Ms Holliday £5,000 to go to America to trace the child because, his spokesman Michael Cole said yesterday, "he hoped it might be true".

"[Mr Al Fayed] was praying that maybe his son had left him something," said Mr Cole.

Mr Cole said that after hearing the allegations Mr Al Fayed had conducted investigations on both sides of the Atlantic.

"It transpired that there was no documentary evidence linking [Dodi with Ms Holliday]," he said.

He claimed it was an at-

tempt to exploit a terrible situation for financial gain. "It has been very cruel and terribly stressful for [Mr Al Fayed] to have been put through this ordeal."

At some point in the discussion Ms Holliday had also been in contact with Mr Rowland.

"She told me a long story about Dodi and how he was the father of her baby," Mr Rowland told the Observer newspaper, adding that he believed there was DNA evidence to prove paternity.

Yesterday Mr Rowland was travelling and unavailable to comment.

Once Mr Al Fayed heard about the approach to Mr Rowland, he laid a complaint with the police against Ms Holliday for conspiracy to extort money.

A source close to Mr Rowland yesterday confirmed that he had also given Ms Holliday around £5,000 for food and accommodation. The source added that Ms Holliday had shown Mr Rowland a list of documents relating to Mr Al Fayed's takeover of Harrods.

Ms Holliday also later laid a complaint against Ms Holliday with the police, the source added.

"We can confirm that police are carrying out an investigation into an alleged financial deception in London in December last year. The investigation was launched two weeks ago," a Scotland Yard spokeswoman said yesterday.

Ms Holliday, who lives in Suffolk, told the Observer she felt she had been caught up in something in which she had no control. "Fayed and Tiny are both waging a war against each other and I'm stuck in the middle of it," she said. "I don't want money, I don't want anything to do with them. I just want to be left alone."



Briton vows second try at round-world balloon flight

Vikram Dodd

BALLOONIST Andy Elson said he would try again to fly around the world after he arrived back in Switzerland yesterday to a hero's welcome.

His mission had ended ingloriously in a paddy field, 70 miles north of the Burmese capital, Rangoon, on Saturday morning — just under 10 days after his Breitling Orbiter 2 balloon had left Switzerland.

During the flight Mr Elson had risked his life by hanging below the balloon's capsule to try and repair a leaking seal.

Mr Elson, who is 44 and comes from Wells in Somerset, and his team mates, Bernard Piccard of Switzerland and Wim Verstraeten of Belgium, were met by hundreds of well-wishers as they arrived back on Swiss soil.

He said: "I have every intention of trying again. I learnt an awful lot of technical things on this flight. It was a great opportunity to play with all the tools and toys I have developed — so,

yes, I will definitely be trying again." The team flew for nine days, 17 hours and 55 minutes — breaking the world record for the longest ever balloon flight and the world record for the longest non-stop unrefuelled flight by any aircraft.

Mr Elson said: "It was a fantastic adventure. I enjoyed 99.9 per cent of it, and the other 0.1 per cent was character-building."

"In a way, I'm not too disappointed we did not make it because I can find a job building someone else a balloon to fly around the world."

The flight was dogged by technical setbacks and low winds after launching from Chateau d'Oex in the Swiss Alps on January 28.

The team unexpectedly lost a third of their fuel in the first 24 hours of their mission. This prompted Mr Elson to make the first of two mid-air climbs out of the balloon's gondola, to check for a leak at 8,000 feet above the Mediterranean.

Two days later he was out again, using climbing gear to abseil over the end of the gon-



Down but not out... Andy Elson, above right, with team mates Bertrand Piccard and Wim Verstraeten, on top of the gondola of their balloon after touching down near Rangoon on Saturday, above right

dola at 4,000 feet above the Adriatic to repair a leak on the balloon's rear hatch. "It should have been okay," said Mr Elson.

"As a climber and as a parachutist, I should be used to it, but it feels so exposed hanging below the gondola. Once you are up there the aim is to keep going — and if that

involves fixing something, you will do it," he said.

The flight was aborted when China refused to let the balloon enter its airspace, then changed its mind.

The crew still believed they could overcome the problems of low fuel levels. By the time Beijing backed down, it was too late, since the Breit-

ling Orbiter had missed the high altitude jetstream which would have carried it along at up to 150 mph.

China's change of heart is good news for Richard Branson, currently waiting to start another round-the-world balloon mission from Morocco.

If the Virgin Challenger does not launch within the

next week, it will be forced to wait until November, when the jetstream winds will again be strong enough.

Mr Branson's success or failure could decide whether there will be another Breitling bid. The team will sit down with sponsors in a few days' time to discuss a repeat attempt in November.

Mine threat to Bess's glass house

PRO REC

TE

Bill for deaths and illnesses from exhaust pollution put at £11bn

'Triple motoring taxes' to pay for health costs

Paul Brown
Environment Correspondent

TAXES on motorists should be tripled to reflect the true cost of road transport, which adds £11 billion a year to health bills because of exhaust pollution, according to the British Lung Foundation.

It recommends a return of purchase tax on larger-engined vehicles, like the fashionable but gas-guzzling four-wheel drives, but says his rises in petrol and diesel prices are the fairest way forward.

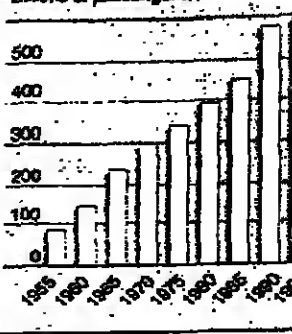
Most of the costs of motoring are in the purchase price of the vehicle, road tax and insurance, but the cost to the country is in the pollution caused when people drive, says the report, compiled by David Pearce.

To reflect the real cost of this, and to deter people from driving the tax should be loaded on to the fuel they use. This would also encourage the use of smaller, fuel-efficient cars and leave room for less tax on gas and electric powered vehicles.

Prof Pearce, from the Centre for Social and Economic Research on the Global Environment in London, specialises in calculating the real cost of pollution and destruction of amenities such as

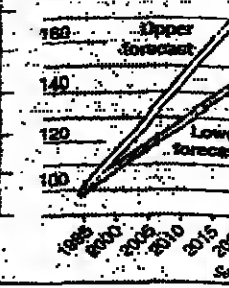
Jam tomorrow

Passenger transport by bus/van
Billions of passenger kms



Road traffic forecasts

Vehicle kms (million)



clean water, air and forests. He says they are treated as "free goods", with no financial penalties for industry and the motorist when the rest of the population is deprived of their benefit.

It is difficult to put a price on clean air, but by measuring the health effects and the willingness of people to pay to avoid the suffering caused by pollution, Prof Pearce arrived at the £11 billion figure.

The report says 38 per cent of the population are susceptible to air pollution. Those most at risk include children, people with respiratory and coronary disease, pregnant women, older adults and a group of people called "res-

ponders" who are allergic to pollution. Research has shown that the more polluted the city the higher the death rates from cardiac and respiratory disease. In the US death rates were 37 per cent higher from these causes in the most polluted city compared with the least. The death rate in London increased by more than 10 per cent in a four-day smog episode in December 1991.

The £11 billion bill is almost equally split between the extra premature deaths and increased illness. If congestion, accidents, road damage and global warming are added to the costs of motoring they reach a staggering £45.9

billion. Road users only pay one third of this sum in taxes. Malcolm Green, president of the British Lung Foundation, said: "It makes economic and health sense to clean up the air in our cities as an urgent priority. Government and individuals must work together to end our love affair with the car."

Traffic is predicted to rise up to 87 per cent over the next 30 years. Although vehicles are producing fewer emissions, this will be more than outweighed by their number, and the distances people drive. Diesel vehicles which are expected to triple over the next 10 years. These emit 100 per cent more particulates - poisonous, microscopic particles - than petrol engines. These are the single most important cause of premature death.

An anti-asthma pill was launched in Britain today, the first new treatment in more than 20 years.

Montelukast works by blocking the action of a substance which helps trigger inflammation in the lungs, the cause of asthma. It is effective used with traditional inhalers, reducing the frequency of day and night-time asthma attacks. When it was used in trials with inhaled steroids, 48 per cent of patients had fewer asthma attacks than when using inhalers alone.

Hardwick Hall: the National Trust claims plans for a nearby open cast mine will mar views of it PHOTOGRAPH BY GRAHAM TURNER

Mine threat to Bess's glass house



Christopher Pennell: claims view is vital design aspect

Maev Kennedy
Heritage Correspondent

THE huge windows of Hardwick Hall, the Elizabethan mansion built to see and be seen by half of Derbyshire, could soon enjoy a view of an open cast coal mine and an industrial estate, if a planning application succeeds. The National Trust,

which owns Hardwick Hall and more than 1,000 acres around it, has lodged a formal objection to a proposal by the EJ Banks mining and property group to build an industrial estate on a 170-acre site, on the opposite side of the M1, but overlooked by the house and park.

The group has submitted an outline planning application to East Derbyshire

district council, which will consider it next month.

Christopher Pennell, East Midlands director of the National Trust, said: "It is a particularly serious threat to this house, because the view is an integral part of the design. The point was that people in the house could look out and see for miles, and people from miles away could see the house with the windows flashing like diamonds and Bess's initials up in the sky."

Bess of Hardwick was one of the most formidable women of the Elizabethan era. She married four times, outliving all her husbands and becoming wealthier each time. In 1597 she built herself a palace, with her crowned initials ES on top of each turret when she became Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury.

The house is Grade I listed, and the foundations of the original medieval manor house are a scheduled ancient monument,

lying directly above the proposed development site. The trust has submitted a detailed re-entailment of an environmental impact assessment from the Banks Group, which suggests there would be very little visual disturbance from the development, far less than is already caused by the motorway.

Walkers in the park at the weekend, and in the surrounding farming villages, were appalled at the suggestion. I remember the road going through it. It was hell. It's unbelievable that they'd even think of ripping the whole place up again," one man said.

However in Tibshelf, a village out of sight over the hill, opinion is mixed. Jobs are scarce, memories of mining redundancies still raw, and businesses are struggling.

The Banks group is promising several thousand jobs in mining and construction when the estate is built. "You can't eat a view," one woman said bleakly.

Aids charity warns against 'deliberate infection' law

Lucy Patton

ANEW offence of intentionally giving a person a life-threatening illness is being considered by the Government.

But Aids charities have warned that such a move could have serious effect on the number of people coming forward for HIV testing.

The Home Office yesterday confirmed reports that the new law is part of proposals in a consultation document out later this month to replace the 1861 Offences Against the Persons Act, which covers cases of wounding, grievous bodily harm and threats to kill.

People with HIV who deliberately spread the Aids virus face life in jail under a new law, said a weekend report which claimed that infections

like salmonella and Legionnaire's disease would also be covered. The Home Office could not confirm whether the offence would carry a life sentence.

A Home Office spokeswoman said last night: "The consultation paper will be published this month and the key thing in it is 'intentional transmission'."

Asked whether it was possible to prove intention, she said: "If you have got an infected syringe and you deliberately stab someone with it, that is intentional."

But the director of the National Aids Trust, Derek Soddell, said: "It is going to take a lot of skilled drafting in the legislation's wording and content to make sure it straddles a very fine line where cases are not so clear cut as using infecting syringes to stab people."

750,000 children have regular jobs in term time, survey finds

Week Chaudhary
Education Correspondent

HAVING a job during term time is becoming a feature of school life, a survey has found. Almost 40 per cent of 14-year-olds have regular work before or after school.

About 750,000 pupils aged 11 to 15 work regularly, more of them boys than girls, the survey, by the Schools Health Education Unit at Exeter university, found.

Almost 25 per cent of boys aged 12 and 20 per cent of girls of this age work regularly. The most popular jobs for boys are paper or milk rounds, manual work, babysitting, farmwork or gardening, paid housework or working in shops or bars. Girls favour babysitting and paid housework.

The findings are based on data involving more than 20,000 pupils across the country.

John Balding, the unit's director, said many of those aged 12 and under are working more hours than is legal for their age group.

The study found that 20 per cent of working schoolchildren earn more than £20 a week and 10 per cent more than £30. Between 1 and 3 per cent work between 45 and 50 hours a week.

More worrying for parents is the survey's claim that the "earnings" are more likely to have a boyfriend or girlfriend, drink alcohol and have been offered drugs.

Mr Balding said: "It seems that participation in the world of work, as well as raising health and safety issues, is connected with initiation into a variety of other health-related activities."

PRODUCT RECALL

TESCO NOVELTY HOT WATER BOTTLES

Product Description: A range of novelty hot water bottles where cuddly covers surround a rubber hot water bottle.

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- Fergus Fish Hot Water Bottle
- Scooby Doo Hot Water Bottle
- Valentines Day Hot Water Bottle

Tesco has identified a potential problem in the manufacture of the above products. It has been found that a small number of bottles may leak and this could constitute a scalding hazard.

As a precaution this product has been withdrawn from sale. Customers who have purchased any novelty hot water bottles from Tesco since September 1997, are requested to return them to any Tesco store where a full refund will be given.

The manufacturers are currently reviewing their procedures and undertaking a full investigation.

Tesco apologises for the inconvenience this may cause and assures customers of our care and commitment to the highest standards of safety and quality at all times.

Free customer helpline 0800 505555

TESCO



"Some fighters never get it. Daniel Day-Lewis got it so well, and his left hook was fabulous. I could have put him in with any of the British middleweights below the top 10 or 12 and he could have beaten them easily."

Barry McGuigan

G2 front

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No forensic evidence against two detained men

France mourns Corsica prefect

Jon Henley in Paris

AS THE French government prepares to honour its assassinated senior representative in Corsica with a full-scale state memorial service, police were struggling yesterday to find evidence linking two detained suspects to his killing.

Amid unprecedented security after perhaps the most serious outrage in more than 20 years of separatist activity on the island, President Jacques Chirac, the prime minister, Lionel Jospin, and members of his cabinet were due to lead the memorial for the murdered prefect, Claude Erignac, in the Corsican capital Ajaccio this afternoon.

But local police, reinforced by elite anti-terrorist units from Paris, have so far failed to find corroborating eyewitness statements identifying the two suspects — who were arrested within hours of the killing on Friday night — as Erignac's assassins.

The men, both aged in their early twenties, with French nationality and of north African origin, have denied involvement in the killing. Initial forensic tests in Marseille have failed to turn up any traces of gunpowder on their skin or clothing, police sources said yesterday.

Fingerprints taken from the murder weapon, a 9mm Beretta pistol identified as one taken from a bombed south

Corsican police station last September, have also been inconclusive.

No one has yet claimed responsibility for the attack, which has shocked France and sparked outrage in Corsica. Union, Church and political leaders called on the island's 250,000 inhabitants to stop work for 15 minutes this morning and protest in the streets on Wednesday.

"The people who live here should gather together and

'People should demonstrate their revulsion; Corsicans have had enough'

demonstrate their revulsion," said Victoria Canale, a spokeswoman for the island's Protest for Life movement. "Corsica and Corsicans have had enough."

Fending Corsican underground groups have waged a campaign for more autonomy from Paris since 1976. But while guerrilla attacks on public buildings and tourist sites have been commonplace, combining with Mafia and family vendettas to produce a up to 600 bombings a year, political assassinations have been rare.

The most radical faction, the Historic Wing of the Cor-

sican National Liberation Front, last month announced an end to a seven-month ceasefire. But its political arm, the A Cuncolta party, has condemned the killing.

Nationalist parties have been losing support from a population weary of violence, and some observers said yesterday the assassination could be an attempt by frustrated extremists to mobilise an unpolarised younger generation before local elections in March.

But others suggested the killers were gangsters. "We should have the courage to say Corsica is now in the hands of the Mafia, who kill, kidnap and assassinate not for great causes, not for autonomy, but for money," said Nicolas Sarkozy, secretary of the Gaullist-RPR party.

The interior minister, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, who flew to the island on Saturday with a Paris prosecutor to supervise the investigation, said police were not just seeking evidence against the two suspects. "That's one lead, but there are others," he said.

Erignac, aged 60, died in Ajaccio on his way to a classical music concert. Three bullets were fired into the back of his neck.

His body, draped in the tricolour flag, was flown in a government plane yesterday to his home in Montbrun in the south of France, where it was due to be cremated before a family funeral service tomorrow.



The coffin of the assassinated Corsica prefect Claude Erignac, draped in the French tricolour, is carried away in Ajaccio yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: GEORGES GOERT

World news in brief

US denies meddling with jet's black box

UNITED STATES military authorities in Italy denied an Italian prosecutor's allegations that data from the warplane which brought down a cable car in the Dolomites last week had been lost because the mission recorder was removed without turning off all its electrical contacts.

A statement from Aviano airbase said yesterday that help was being sought from the device's manufacturer, but added: "There has been no attempt to erase or damage any part of the tape." — *John Hooper, Rome.*

China takes one, frees one

WANG BINGZHANG, a Chinese dissident living in the United States, has been seized by security police in Anhui province, where he was planning to set up an opposition political party, according to a fellow dissident. Mr Wang, who defected to the US after qualifying as a medical doctor in Canada, founded the magazine China Spring and the dissident group Alliance for Democracy.

Meanwhile Beijing has released a Christian activist, Gao Feng, jailed in 1995. Three US Church leaders are due to arrive in China today to examine religious freedom. — *Agencies, Beijing.*

German appeals in Tehran

AN APPEAL has been lodged on behalf of the Hamburg businessman Helmut Hofer, sentenced to death in Iran for having sexual relations outside wedlock with a Muslim woman, the Tehran media reported yesterday. — *Reuters, Tehran.*

Clerides in close race

FIRST results last night in the Cyprus presidential election put the former foreign minister George Iakouvid neck and neck with President Glafcos Clerides — with 39.5 and 40.1 per cent of the vote respectively.

The Socialist Party leader Vassos Lyssarides, with 11 per cent of the vote, appeared to be emerging as a power-broker in the expected run-off next Sunday. — *Reuters, Nicosia.*

Marchers stone police

LEFTWING protesters in Magdeburg, east Germany, pelted police and reporters with stones, smashed windows and looted a petrol station yesterday during a march commemorating the death of a 17-year-old killed by rightwing extremists a year ago. Police said they had detained 48 people, including 30 skinheads who had tried to attack the marchers. — *Reuters, Magdeburg.*

Beach Boy Carl dies

Carl Wilson, the second of three brothers who formed the Beach Boys, has died, aged 51. — *Reuters, Los Angeles.* Obituary, page 13.

Love-match for sumo star



The Sumo grand champion, Akebono (above), aged 28, performs at the opening of the winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan, on Saturday. It was announced yesterday that the 37-stone Akebono, who was born Chad Rowan in the US, will get married in September to a 25-year-old Japanese-American who is expecting his baby. PHOTOGRAPH: ERIC DRAPER

Chicken spree in Hong Kong

THE first chickens on the Hong Kong market since the bird flu scare were snapped up at premium prices yesterday. Retailers complained that only 35,000 were imported from mainland China on Saturday when the authorities lifted the import ban, compared with a normal daily tally of 80,000, and that wholesalers were charging 30 per cent more.

No more flu cases have been reported since the authorities slaughtered 1.4 million chickens at the end of December. Six people died of the virulent strain of flu, and two victims remain in hospital. — *AP, Hong Kong.*

Fortress Europe shuts window to the east

Borders are being tightened by several countries in the hope of securing EU membership. **Ian Traynor** reports from Bonn

ON HIS first visit to Bonn last week since becoming Polish prime minister last October, Jerzy Buzek confronted complaints from German industrialists about the chaos, long queues, and red tape on his country's western border with Germany.

He promised an end to border chaos next year thanks to a recent agreement with Brussels dispensing with customs papers for European Union

lorries travelling to Poland.

On the other side of Poland, however, the mayhem is mounting as the border with the former Soviet Union is reinforced to keep out Russians and Belorussians.

After 35 years of largely free movement on its eastern frontier, Poland wants to be part of Fortress Europe and is tightening controls to boost its chances of joining the European Union.

Bowing to pressure from Brussels and Germany, the aspiring EU members of central Europe are curbing free passage, imposing bureaucratic obstacles and introducing visa requirements.

Slovenia, a frontrunner for early EU membership, is yielding to Austrian and German demands and clamping down on transit traffic from Croatia and former Yugoslavia to the east, its compatriots until seven years ago.

The Czech interior ministry recently issued a list of 12 countries, including Russia, for which it is introducing visa requirements and it is tightening its border with Slovakia, until recently part of the same country.

Poland's new aliens' law, aimed at its eastern neighbours, came into force at the beginning of the year.

It has already provoked a diplomatic tiff with Moscow, which claimed it was not consulted on the restrictions. Last Thursday Belarus withdrew its ambassador from Warsaw in protest. Angry local traders in eastern Poland who de-

pend for their livelihood on the cross-border traffic have held demonstrations, and there has been a sharp fall in trading at Warsaw's huge "Russian bazaar".

Several crossing points were blocked by Russians and for the past two weeks Polish traders have been staging protests in the region.

Last week in Birmingham, EU interior ministry officials agreed that central European countries opening accession negotiations this spring had to do more to secure their eastern borders. In Warsaw, the EU single market commissioner, Mario Monti, told Poland that its chances of joining the EU partly depended on how well it could police its border.

The new commander in charge of the border guards, Marek Blenkowski, announced the building of 15 new control points on the eastern border within the next three years. The number of troops is being increased, and electronic passport-reading equipment installed, with the help of EU funds.

While Ukrainians and Lithuanians may still enter Poland smoothly, they now need to prove they have sufficient money for their stay. But Russians and Belorussians are required to furnish invitations from Poles, officially stamped, or pre-paid hotel vouchers.

Opposition activists in Belarus complain that their window to the west has been closed, leaving them more isolated under an authoritarian regime, and Moscow is retaliating by

imposing tit-for-tat requirements on Poles.

In the east Polish town of Bialystok, more than 1,000 local traders demonstrated against the "economic catastrophe" caused by the border tightening.

The economic price of bowing to the EU's demands is already high. Around 100,000 illegal migrants from the east are estimated to be working in Poland earning 50p per hour. Their numbers are now falling.

According to Poland's Market Economy Research Institute, the ubiquitous market trading in Warsaw and the border zones, which depends to a large degree on Russian pedlars, generated almost £4 billion in turnover in 1996. Trading at Warsaw's Russian bazaar is said to have fallen by 30 per cent after an estimated turnover last year of around £350 million, half of it reportedly spent by travellers from the former Soviet Union.

Warsaw commentators are talking of Poland's "own goal". Another certain effect of the travel curbs will be to increase corruption and bribery on the borders.

In the Czech Republic new Russian money is a growing factor in the booming tourist sector. The invasion of the west Bohemian spas by Russia's nouveaux riches has encouraged the Czech national airline to open a route between Moscow and Karlovy Vary. But the traffic is certain to tail off once the travel restrictions and visa requirements come in.

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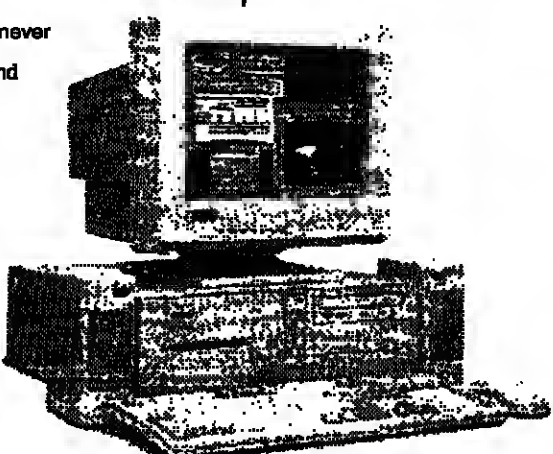
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Iraq crisis: Europe at odds

Moscow deal will cut little ice in US

Russia

James Mack in Moscow

RUSSIAN negotiators have made "very large progress" in their attempts to broker a deal with Iraq and prevent a bombardment of the country by the United States and Britain, diplomats in Baghdad said yesterday.

But the strings attached to the reported agreement make it unlikely to satisfy Washington and London, which insist on unconditional Iraqi compliance with previous disarmament agreements.

The deal sketched out by the Russian envoy, Victor Pavlov, is similar to the

one hailed by Moscow last week and brusquely disowned by Baghdad. It grants United Nations weapons inspectors unrestricted access to eight "presidential" sites for a fixed period, possibly two months, and dilutes the concentration of US and British citizens in the inspection teams.

The Russian foreign minister, Yevgeny Primakov, last night refused to go into details about the talks but said: "A different formula is being proposed but essentially all the attributes of the inspection are being preserved, including the inspection of presidential palaces."

Asked whether Saddam Hussein was now accepting a constructive approach to the crisis, he said: "Yes, I think I can reach this conclusion."

Yeltsin warns against 'world hegemony' for Washington

THE Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, warned in an interview published yesterday against allowing the United States to hold a monopoly on world power.

"History shows that attempts to establish world hegemony are always short-lived," he told the

Italian newspaper Corriere della Sera in response to a question about US foreign policy. He advocated what he called "a multipolar world", free of overbearing superpowers.

"I realise it's not easy to break old habits... but I have to say the attempts of

some countries to impose a unipolar model on the world, to assume the role of leader, are unrealistic and even dangerous," he said.

Mr Yeltsin, who is due to visit Italy and the Vatican this week, was speaking in Moscow as the United States sent more warplanes to the

Gulf and Britain prepared to do the same.

Russia has actively sought a diplomatic solution to the Iraq crisis and Mr Yeltsin warned last week that heavy-handed action by the US could trigger a third world war. — Reuters.

greeted with outrage in Moscow and would represent another deposit in the long-term interest-bearing account of Russian resentment against America, the short-term consequences would be less dramatic.

The Russian parliament's call for a unilateral lifting of sanctions against Iraq has little chance of being heeded. The worst prospect would seem to be non-ratification of the Start II treaty, an agreement relating to a different, cold war world.

No one understands Russia's limited room for manoeuvre better than its foreign minister, Yevgeny Primakov.

Although his peace efforts are widely derided, many parties in the dispute are nonetheless looking to Russia. President Saddam hopes

Russia will provide him with a way out that does not entail a loss of face. With anger in Italy over the cable car tragedy and concern in France and Britain about Gulf intervention, many in western Europe like to promote the spectre of a dangerously off-balance Russia as a means of obstructing the US without doing the dirty work.

The spectre of a dangerous Russia is equally useful to the gun-ho war party. The idea of Moscow weighing in for President Saddam, however absurd, dignifies an otherwise one-sided fight.

"None of this is likely to help Russia get what it wants. To win respect in the Middle East, you have to be either strong like America or proud like Iraq," said Konstantin Egert of Izvestiya newspaper. "Russia, alas, is neither."

Divisions deny the union a coherent role

EU

Stephen Bates and Martin Walker in Brussels

THE United States and British governments welcomed last night the first tangible sign of European backing for their threatened action against Iraq after Chancellor Kohl offered the use of German airbases to launch military strikes.

But with British forces poised in the Gulf, France still opposing military action and Germany insisting that its forces will not be directly involved, the failure to reach a European policy consensus remains embarrassingly clear.

Europe is as marginal as it was seven years ago during the Gulf war. Although

ministers' council resolved last month that Iraq must comply with the UN resolutions, it has not so far agreed what to do to achieve that aim.

Britain has not used its presidency to push for EU involvement. British diplomatic sources said yesterday: "It has been discussed, and we want everyone to agree a common position, but that is something that is discussed bilaterally. The UN in New York is where the action is."

That reluctance to rally the EU is endorsed by other member states. The commission has been sidelined — the relevant commissioner, Manuel Martín, was in Nicaragua yesterday with no instructions to prepare even a position paper on the Iraq crisis — and officials in Brussels acknowledged that their chance of establishing a leading role was non-existent.

One said: "It has been made very clear that member states wish to handle the matter individually. The UK presidency could have pushed it harder if they had wanted. We always tend very gently in foreign affairs and the signal would have had to come from them."

The EU's latest failure to agree a concerted position in the face of a major international crisis, after its hesitations over Bosnia, contrasts with the lofty aspirations in last year's Amsterdam treaty to form a common foreign and security policy.

US impatience with European dithering led to renewed questions by US politicians, including the defence secretary William Cohen, about European willingness to play a coherent role as allies in the crisis.

Mr Cohen welcomed the German decision but pointed out that the French and Russian efforts to head off intervention. "To the extent that they refuse to acknowledge that Saddam Hussein has in fact impeded or breached his obligations under Security Council resolutions, they are not lending themselves to a diplomatic solution but undermining it," he said.

Although the EU foreign



Setting the pace... The US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, said on Face the Nation yesterday that time was running out for Saddam Hussein and retaliation for non-compliance with UN weapons inspections would be 'substantial'.

Blair sounds the trumpet of moral justification

Britain

Anne Perkins Political Correspondent

TONY BLAIR led his senior ministers in a coordinated attack on Saddam Hussein yesterday, warning at the Labour Party local government conference in Scarborough that the threat of force was real.

"The UK like everyone else wants the current crisis resolved by diplomatic means. But we have to be realistic about the nature of the man we are dealing with."

"Saddam Hussein has lied and cheated at every turn. He is a man without moral scruple," Mr Blair said.

"This is a dictator who has sufficient chemical weapons to wipe out the world's population."

The Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, who may make a statement to MPs today or tomorrow, went on breakfast television to warn the Iraqi leader that time was running out.

The Defence Secretary, George Robertson, has ordered a further eight RAF Tornado GR1 ground-attack aircraft to Kuwait. He said there would be "enough punch" in a joint US-British attack to weaken President Saddam's hold on power.

On Wednesday the 35-strong Campaign group of MPs will hold an open meeting to try to establish the degree of unease about the use of force. It is seeking a meeting with Mr Blair.

This afternoon peace campaigners will hand in a petition to 10 Downing Street.

The Israeli president, Ezer Weizman, urged Israelis to overcome their fear of a possible Iraqi attack by taking a deep breath and getting on with their lives.

"Look, you can take Valium all day. You can start in the morning and instead of eating eggs take Valium. I suggest you eat two eggs," he told reporters yesterday.

Anti-war ministers threaten to resign

France

Paul Webster in Paris

FRENCH opposition to British and United States military threats against Iraq increased yesterday when two senior ministers said they would resign if France had taken the US's side.

Although President Jacques Chirac and the prime minister, Lionel Jospin, agree Britain is wrong and want a peaceful solution, other French leaders are understood to favour at least diplomatic backing for Mr Blair.

Yet there is no support in the government or the Gaullist-led opposition for the US,

leftwing parties — the Citizens' Movement and the Greens — that they would not tolerate any encouragement of Tony Blair's position.

Party officials said the two ministers were backed by other members of the administration, annoyed that Britain had taken the US's side.

Although President Jacques Chirac and the prime minister, Lionel Jospin, agree Britain is wrong and want a peaceful solution, other French leaders are understood to favour at least diplomatic backing for Mr Blair.

Yet there is no support in the government or the Gaullist-led opposition for the US,

which is seen as wanting to contain France's influence in the Middle East where Paris has lobbied for better trade relations with Iraq and Iran.

France has been in the forefront of moves to ease sanctions against Iraq, and it clashed with the US over an oil project in Iran — which the US boycotts because of alleged terrorist activities.

High-level French opposition to military intervention is clearer today than in the Gulf war, when the late President François Mitterrand allowed a French division to take part, although he sponsored international peace moves up to the last minute.

But Mitterrand showed sympathy for leftwing reluctance by letting Mr Chevènement, then the defence minister, resign when operations began. French intervention was restricted to a lightly contested zone where the troops suffered no casualties.

Officials here indicated that Germany's decision at the weekend to give logistical support to a bombing raid would not affect France's determination to seek a settlement only by peaceful means.

The head of the French foreign ministry, Bertrand Drouot, has spent the past few days in the region to assure Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and

other states that France is opposed to British-US air strikes. Last Wednesday he talked to Saddam Hussein for two hours and was told Iraq would not back down.

The official French view is that there is no proof that Iraq possesses chemical or biological weapons capable of use against another country, although Iraq should accept UN arms inspections.

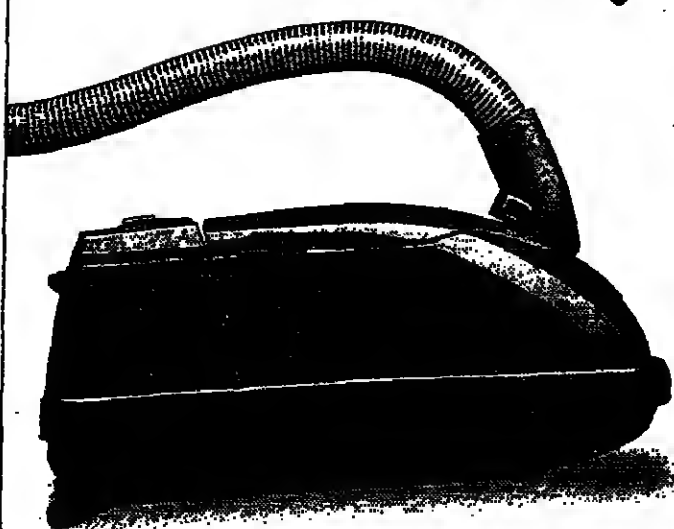
Behind Paris's attitude is Mr Chirac's long-standing sympathy for Iraq. There are fears the crisis could upset the "cohabitation" balance because Mr Chirac is determined to dominate foreign and defence issues.

AUF WIEDERSEHEN PET

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The high cost of cheap papers

Peers must back fair trading

LABOUR Peers should today ignore the three-line whip ludicrously applied by the party in a misbegotten attempt to scupper amendments to the Competition Bill which, if passed, would make it more difficult for Rupert Murdoch's News International to continue its newspaper price war. That there is an unfair price war going on should no longer be in doubt. In 1994 and 1995 Mr Murdoch managed to convince the Office of Fair Trading that he was not guilty of predatory pricing, an offence of its nature difficult to prove because it implies inside knowledge of the predator's intentions. But since these practices are still going on several years later they can no longer be dismissed as short-term promotional devices. Both the Independent and the Daily Telegraph suffer a circulation fall on Mondays when they sell at 45p compared to 20p for the Times. On Saturdays the Times now sells its enlarged edition, on which it has spent millions, at 40p (after starting at 20p) compared with 75p for the Telegraph and 70p for the Guardian.

News International argues that the consumer gains from a cheaper product which has hugely boosted the daily circulation of the Times. True but for how long? If such predatory pricing either wilfully, or as an inevitable result, puts one paper out of business then consumer choice will shrink and, in the long term, prices will rise. Competition is a vital factor in any economy but only if it expands choice and not if it tries to remove it. That is why Mr Murdoch would not be allowed to do what he is doing in the US or Australia where more stringent competition laws exist. The fact is that if the Times was a stand-alone paper, it could never afford to undercut its competitors so much. One of the main reasons it is able to do so is the profits earned in the rest of the Murdoch empire on which so little tax is paid that it has prompted a world-wide investigation into Mr Murdoch's fiscal practices. There is a simply answer to this: No representation without taxation.

The newspaper industry's changeover to new technology — a drama in which Mr Murdoch played the leading role — was supposed to usher in an era of cheaper costs in which more newspapers would flourish. Instead, of the two national papers spawned by the new technologies, today has closed down and the Independent is struggling. It would have gone out of business if it was still what it set out to be — an independent newspaper. It only continues to exist because of the deep pockets of its owners. If anyone tried to set up from scratch something like the Independent now it would be impossible because Mr Murdoch's pricing policies would not allow it to become profitable. Who in their right mind would set up a national paper if one of the rivals were able to dip into its tax-protected coffers and drop the price to 10p? This is not like Tesco reducing the price of baked beans as a promotion to hurt Sainsbury because, unlike an independent newspaper which could be a one-product company, supermarkets still sell thousands of other lines. If the Government waits until a newspaper dies before taking action there might not be another one to take its place.

Today's amendments are intended to import elements of the US Sherman anti-trust legislation to outlaw predatory pricing and to put the onus of monitoring newspapers back with the Office of Fair Trading where it used to be years ago. Labour is imposing a three-line whip against the amendments even though they simply reflect what Labour was saying before the election. The suspicion is that Mr Blair is diluting his former intentions in order to keep Mr Murdoch's papers including the Sun on Labour's side. There could be few more monstrous claims. Labour peers should ensure that it won't be made again by voting for today's amendments. There are already signs of a mini revolt among some Old Labour peers. Others should join them today if only to save Labour from itself.

The killing roads

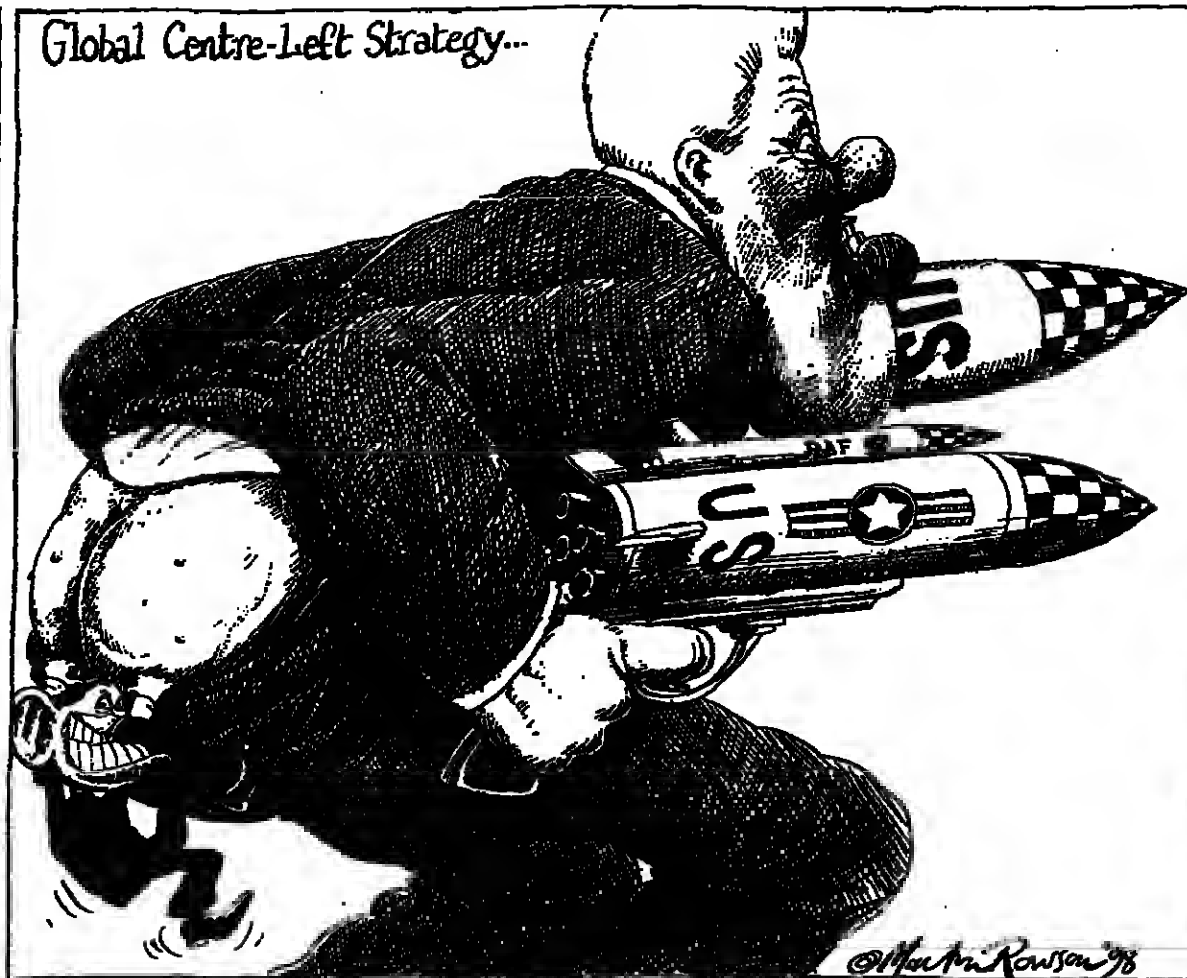
Cutting speed reduces child deaths

SLOWLY the streets are being reclaimed. Manchester's new metrolink tram has cut car traffic by 50 per cent. Leicester's traffic calming measures increased the proportion of children walking to school by 10 per cent. And now ministers are to give local councils more discretion to reduce speed limits on residential roads. Absurdly in this over-centralised state, even a reduction from 30 mph to 20 mph down Acacia Avenue requires ministerial approval. Not for much longer. Transport minister Gavin Strang has been converted by the success which local 20 mph zones have achieved in reducing pedestrian casualties, particularly child pedestrian and child cyclist casualties.

Road accident deaths have been slashed in the last two decades from almost 6,000 to 3,500. Child pedestrian deaths have been reduced, too, but not from safer roads but because parents are no longer ready to let their children use neighbourhood roads on their own. The proportion of children travelling to school by car has doubled to 24 per cent in the last two decades. Meanwhile, average annual distances walked by children continue to decline as their lack of physical fitness and obesity has increased. Even now, 700 children are still killed on the roads each year — the highest, proportionately, in Western Europe — and 10,000 seriously injured. Yet where local councils have imposed 20 mph speed limits, there have been dramatic improvements in road safety. Casualty figures have been cut by over 60 per cent. For one unequivocal reason: speed kills. People hit by a car travelling at 20 mph have a 95 per cent chance of surviving, at 30 mph a 50 per cent chance, but at 40 mph only a five per cent chance.

A 20 mph speed limit should only be the start. Continental countries have been reclaiming the streets for two decades through "home zones", residential areas in which pavements are widened, more benches and trees set out, and the speed limit cut to 10 mph. Holland now has 6,500 such zones. Local councils need to ensure these areas are not just reserved for comfortable middle class communities. Like most other mortality statistics, fatal road accidents show children in social class five, the poorest class, dying at a far higher rate than in social class one. But a corner has been turned. The Road Traffic Reduction Bill, which recently received its second reading, is backed by more than 300 MPs even though the Government has yet to give its official backing. One hundred years after the first child was killed in a road accident, road safety appears to have reached the top of the political agenda.

Global Centre-Left Strategy...



(Local Nothing Left Strategy...)



Letters to the Editor

Sedgemoor on-message

FROM time to time I am asked by art colleges and universities to speak about the arts. Thus on Wednesday, February 4, I gave a paper to a seminar at the City University to students on an MA course in arts policy and management. Two days later I contributed to a conference at the Tate Gallery which was organised by the Wimbledon College of Arts and the Tate on the future of fine arts (Labour days 'trivial' BBC, February 7).

Usually little publicity attends these functions. This time there was plenty of publicity, most of it off the subject. None of your readers could possibly know that I talked about the future of fine arts in relation to the Enlightenment, the Romantic Movement, Rousseau's concept of the General Will, Freud's concept of fulfilment dreams, Cartesian dualism and the politics of contentment.

There was not one word in your report about the specific points that I made on art education, subversive art, the censorship of art, sponsorship, the appointment of the new chairman of the Arts Council and the national curriculum as it affects teaching of the arts in primary schools.

Nor did you report anything about my remarks on the works of Jackson Pollock, Picasso, Rothko, Duchamp, Stanley Spencer, Damien Hurst, Rembrandt and Botticelli. What you did do, however, was to quote a bizarre and untrue remark of a spin doctor to the effect that I was always off-message. Until I read this I had no idea that the Labour Party had on-message policies as regards Botticelli, Rothko and Duchamp. What on earth are they?

Brian Sedgemoor MP,
House of Commons,
London SW1A 0AA.

Just the ticket

IF ONLY one could believe that all those World Cup tickets acquired by Ministers would be available to ordinary fans rather than corporate jolies. Surely a more radical policy would be to grab all the tickets offered to the Government and give them to us?

Ken Shelton,
London SW20 7BW.

Ramblers' paths cross

IF GEORGE Monbiot walks unnoticed across our farm I am sure he would do no harm. Two problems arise however from his incitement to trespass (Go on trespass, February 6) which means that were I to catch him trespassing, and were he to refuse to leave immediately, we would probably come to blows.

The first is that he believes he has an inalienable right to walk on land we purchased and maintain through long, hard hours and high mortgage payments. The second is that he clearly has no idea of the distress his views and the increasing problem of trespass, cause to ordinary farmers.

He fails to recognise that farm animals are sentient and sometimes excitable beings and that those of us who tend them at all hours of the day and night and in all weathers, generally trace our descent from peasant Saxon stock and not from the invading Normans.

There is a need for increased public access in the countryside, and I too would like see us reverse the town/country imbalance largely

caused by the Industrial Revolution. On enclosed farmland, however, there can be no roaming at will. We have four footpaths crossing 380 acres and try hard to keep only less vulnerable animals near these. But while almost all walkers are highly responsible, trespass is increasing and every year there are one or two incidents which cause the sheep to stampede. In the last three years this has been triggered by a friendly but energetic dog bounding too far from its straying owner, screaming children, the squeaking brakes of a mountain bike, and the flapping vest of a runner. The mayhem and distress to our cattle and to us on these occasions keeps us in a constant state of anxiety.

Richard Young,
Kite's Nest Farm,
Broadway,
Worcestershire WR12 2JT.

LET me assure your readers that a moratorium on the sales of forest land has been in operation since the election (Ministers urged to halt forest sales, February 4).

While some sales of forest land have been completed since May last year, these were sales which had been agreed with purchasers before the moratorium was put into place. The Commission had a legal and moral responsibility to complete sales when negotiations had been virtually finalised prior to the election. No new areas of forest land have been put on the market since the election. We have made every effort to secure public access agreements for areas of forest land that we have sold.

Our estate of over 2.5 million acres makes us the largest landowner in Great Britain. We are firmly committed to public access as demonstrated by the number and variety of recreational facilities available to the public.

This year we intend to buy around 1,000 acres of new land, and to buy the freeholds of a further 5,200 acres we currently lease to further improve public access.
David Bills,
Director general,
Forestry Commission,
Edinburgh EH12 7AT.

On Members' interests



HOW hypocritical can Anne Widdecombe get? (My cultural life, February 6). She "won't pay the licence fee" so does not own a TV set.

Yet she is perfectly happy to watch TV at other people's homes, thereby benefitting from programming paid for out of other people's licence fees. She also owns a radio and listens to, among other things, BBC Radio 4; also paid for from the licence fee. Has she ever heard the expression "freeloader"?

Dr Wendy Richards,
42 Fuller Drive,
Crewe,
Cheshire.

FORGIVE my naïveté but isn't it the duty of an MP to represent the interests of his or her constituents in the House of Commons? If so, who is representing the interests of the constituents of Huntingdon while their MP is glad-handing around the globe (Lucrative lecture tours put Major in millionaires club, February 5)?

Chris Yates,
7 Wellington Road,
Edgworth, Turton,
Bolton BL7 0BG.

Please include a full postal address and day-time telephone number. We may edit letters.

Bear with us

BEFORE the controversy surrounding Winnie the Pooh threatens to spoil the special relationship between the UK and the US, I feel I must set the record straight (Report, February 6). Winnie is Canadian, and is named after the city of Winnipeg. The real Winnie was an orphaned black bear cub adopted as a mascot by Canadian soldiers. Winnie was brought to England during the great war and ended up in a zoo frequented by A A Milne. You describe Winnie's accent as "soft American", a reasonable description of most Canadian accents.

Hamish Johnston,
49 Nevill Road,
Bristol BS7 9EG.

HATE to disabuse David McKie (February 5) of his idealistic picture, but Denmark has two national anthems. The other one is all about bashing out the brains of the Goths and other lesser peoples, such as the Swedes.
Billy O'Shea,
Silleborgsgade 9,
2100 Copenhagen, Denmark.

My beef with libel laws: the Oprah trial is an attack on free speech

THE Oprah beef trial in Texas (Oprah hams it up for the beef trial, February 6) is a futile attempt by the beef industry to try to halt the essential and growing public debate and criticism of modern industrial and commercial practices.

The main defence witness, Howard Lyman, is a very experienced ex-cattle rancher and former representative of the United States National Farmers' Union. He knows what he's talking about. When he spoke in April 1996 on the Oprah show about the risk of BSE-type diseases in American herds he had just returned from the UK where he had given expert testimony for the defence in the "McLibel" trial. McDonald's action against myself and Helen Steel for libel.

Three days before he'd gone into the witness box, McDonald's had halted all British hamburger sales as the BSE crisis broke. But what's ironic about the Oprah case in the land of the "constitutional right to free speech" is the prosecution's

attempt to invoke the kind of draconian and internationally discredited libel laws which we have had to fight so hard against in the UK — and which we are seeking to abolish in the awaited McLibel appeal, expected in January 1999.

But the best way to defend freedom of speech is to exercise it. The McLibel campaign has ensured the ever-growing UK and global distribution of now over three million leaflets which McDonald's had hoped to suppress, and the establishing of the McSpillight website dedicated to providing uncensored and comprehensive information world-wide about the \$30 billion corporation.

If the Texas beef magnates believe they can prevent the expression of public criticism, their legal advisor must be a clown. Er... not Ronald McDonald by any chance?
Dave Morris,
c/o London Greenpeace,
5 Caledonian Road,
London N1 9DX.

A Country Diary

WELNEY, NORFOLK: This Wildfowl and Wetland Trust reserve between Ely and Downham Market is one of the most atmospheric landscapes in the East Anglian region. In winter it hosts spectacular numbers of wildfowl, especially Bewicks and whooper swans. This year's high water levels have suppressed swan numbers but as compensation they've drawn a huge flock of pochard. Normally these ducks, with their soft, almost pearl-grey bodies, glossy black breasts and brilliant foxed heads, are a highlight of any Welney visit. This time, however, they were a nightmare — since our main objective was to find an oddity called a canvasback, an American duck from the same family as pochard and only marginally different in appearance. Sifting through 4,000 ducks for one with a slightly longer, darker bill, a differently angled forehead and a shade paler body threatened to defeat us. Then we had a stroke of luck and spotted it. Unfortunately the bird was actively feeding and con-

stantly dove under the water. Each time it went down it would resurface some distance from the point it had originally submerged. We would often only relocate it just as it plunged under once more. Yet we persevered because the bird might be only the second European canvasback ever. The key issue underlying this status is whether it is a genuine vagrant or has come no further than a hole in a fence around some local wildfowl collection. But so far the omens are good. This is its second winter at Welney, and for the six months of summer it disappeared, probably migrating back to the southern Baltic region with the rest of the pochard. It is also extremely wary, shying away when staff approach, the water with barrows of supplementary food for the wildfowl. So if you wish to sample the genuine pleasures and exquisite torments of 4,000 pochard and Britain's one and only canvasback then get across to Welney quickly.
MARK COCKER

Dobson's daring diagnosis of poverty

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

TWENTY years ago, no member of Jim Callaghan's Cabinet was allowed to make a statement in the House of Commons without circulating the text for the approval of what we then called "the colleagues". The Prime Minister himself would suggest what he regarded as improvements. Naturally enough, they were always accepted. From what I hear, the Blair Administration is at least as authoritarian as the one in which I served. So I assume that when Frank Dobson

gripped the Despatch Box at 3.29 on the afternoon of Thursday, February 5, he was preparing to read from a document that the whole Government had endorsed. If they understood the subtlety of the Health Secretary's statement — and no-one has ever accused them of being stupid — ministers collectively endorsed principles which, it once seemed, New Labour had formally disavowed.

There are, Frank Dobson announced "huge inequalities in our society and the worst are in health". That, sceptics may argue, is no more than an undeniable statistical fact. But it is not the sort of statistical fact that New Labour has regularly chosen to advertise. Even the reference to inequality marks a significant departure from the approved vocabulary. As long ago as the 1987 general election, shadow ministers were told in mind their language and, if they felt obliged to refer to the divisions which scar society, described them as "unfairness". The surveys all showed that there were no votes to be won by supporting greater equality. Dobson deserved the first cheer for ignoring such considerations.

Hats should come off a second time in admiration for Dobson's reckless daring in declaring: "Over the past 20 years, the gap between rich and poor has been growing." That again is no more than a statement of the obvious. But repeating it raises awkward questions for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Before the summer of 1994, almost every Labour speech mentioned the widening gulf between the

haves and the have-nots. The reference was always followed by a resounding promise "not just to end that trend but to reverse it" — which in turn was drowned by cheers. But that is no longer party policy. The rich have got rich not least because tax patterns were designed for their benefit. And the poor have, at the very bottom of the heap, got poorer in absolute terms because of the drive to hold down public expenditure. I hope that Gordon Brown read Frank Dobson's text with proper care.

The third, and perhaps most important, cause for celebration deserves to be quoted in full: "The previous Government concentrated their attention exclusively on trying to get people to change their personal lifestyles, which sometimes needs to be done, but they ignored the factors which made people ill but which were beyond the personal control of the individual." There, in a popular nutshell, is a rewording of one of the principles by which socialists have been guided since socialism began. The pretence that the dispossessed and disadvantaged can always improve their position

by individual exertion is a cruel hoax, played by the rich on the poor as an excuse for allowing poverty to remain. It is the organisation of society, not the inadequacies of its members, on which reforming radicals should concentrate.

I hope that, in the Department of Education and Employment, a copy of Dobson's statement was sent in Mr Christopher Woodhead, head of Ofsted and Her Majesty's chief inspector of Schools. Woodhead was again on television last week denouncing teachers who use the poverty of their pupils as an "excuse" for under-achievement. No sensible person has ever made such a connection. Poverty is not an excuse for failure, it is one of its causes. The poor are dragged down by their environment. Dobson made the simple point that logic requires a progressive government to improve the environment rather than just urge the underprivileged to rise above a handicap which holds them down.

The Secretary of State for Health rightly included in his statement a list of those Government policies which help "to tackle the root causes of

bad health" — investment in housing, the minimum wage and, above all, a reduction in unemployment. But it is not necessary to be a member of Labour's post-structuralist tendency to recognise that Dobson's choice of language established his commitment to a philosophic position which has recently been neglected. He did not choose to put his greatest emphasis on improving the general level of public health. Instead, he told the House of Commons — with a calm that emphasised his outrage — that "poor people are ill more often and die sooner" than their rich contemporaries. By making the point, he added his name to a noble list.

Edwin Chadwick's Cholera Maps Of England confirmed that the high incidence of the disease amongst the poor was not the product of personal bad habits, but caused by the inadequate sanitation in the northern boroughs. R H Tawney in Equality quoted the census of the registrar general which revealed an "infant mortality rate in what he called the independent classes" to be only a third of those in the "poorest labouring class". In later editions,

Tawney gave more detailed examples of health inequalities from Stockton-on-Tees. Harold Macmillan, who had represented that town in Parliament, devoted much of The Middle Way to illustrating the inequality which penalised the poor. Thank God that Frank Dobson, a loyal member of the Government that prides itself in occupying the central ground, has done the same.

For this tribute to the Health Secretary to be complete, one more leaf has to be added to his laurel crown. It comes from the point in his House of Commons statement at which text and subtext merge. He spoke about "the poor" — not the lower income groups or the lowest earnings decile but the poor. There is a great work to be done about the relationship between the avoidance of blunt language and the fear of brave policies. There is also need for a pamphlet which describes, to the increasing numbers of disenfranchised party members, why they should attack with Labour. Frank Dobson should be the leaflet's Abou Ben Adhem. His name leads all the rest.

OP 11/10/150

Montserrat Diary

Polly Pattullo

THE young men were peering at a concrete slab jutting out of the filthy, flattened landscape. Was it, they were deliberating, a corner of the Fentecostal church or part of the back entrance to Celeste's Fashions? Eventually, it was decided, it was the shop. One of them had recognised the pink paint, he had at ways gone to Celeste's to buy his upholstery buttons. Where Celeste's Fashions and, indeed, much of Plymouth, Montserrat's capital town, had once been is now a pale sepia, lunar ski-slope, where green valleys and ridges, roads and buildings have been scoured smooth by grey pyroclastic flows—burning rivers of ash, gas and rock. This is the result of the volcanic activity that has ravaged the southern part of Montserrat and killed 19 people since the sulphuric centre of the Soufriere Hills first came forth in its 500-year-old sleep in July 1995.

No one is allowed to live in the exclusion zone now—some two thirds of this tiny island. Although when the volcanic activity is low, the authorities let people through in a convoy to check their homes or collect possessions.

Not far from Celeste's is Lover's Lane, where ZJB radio, the island's radio station, had had its new state-of-the-art studio. The building still stands and staff had gone in to collect personal archives. But the police sergeant had solemnly told us: "If you hear the siren, drop everything and head north."

For the north is where the new Montserrat is—or perhaps, more accurately, will be. Those Montserratians (some 3,500 of them out of a pre-volcano population of 11,000) who have not taken what is known as "the package", Clare Short's offer of a relocation package to the UK or to the Caribbean region, are holding on in the less fertile and less populated north. For these islanders, despite the fragmentation of their society and the current diaspora of their families, are determined to rebuild their lives.

Some Montserratians, who have lost their homes under the volcano, had, however, already built again—only to have to relocate for the second or even third time—as the danger from the volcano shifted further and further north.

Ida, for example, had had a restaurant and bar at the water's edge, just south of Plymouth. She and her husband had built again, with their own savings, in Salem, a small town of central Montserrat. It was to have been the new, the painted wooden buildings, shops and services had sprung up. Then, last August, the order came for Salem, too, to be evacuated. Driven north, Ida now stochically sells snacks and drinks to ferry passengers from a vendor's stand.

The hardship is not only about loss, it is about uncertainty. Those who stay have no access to credit, they have neither collateral nor insurance. The recent British offer of £450,000 in financial grants for small businesses on Montserrat is yet to come through. It is felt to be too little and too late. Even among the most restrained of Montserratians there is a sense of desperation.

AND there are still 500 or so evacuated people living in shelters. One of the occupied shelters is the Anglican church at the hillside village of St Peter's. The dignified elderly lady leaning on the front steps, she said, was not the time when "the fire came out of the sky" or when day turned into night, or even when she had to leave her home. The worst, she said, was living in a shelter in a "box" with a black plastic bag with your possessions under it.

"Mountain Man" had been a builder in Kent for a couple of decades, until he went back home to the eastern village of Leinster Ground. He cut a road through the mountain forest, and built a considerable stone house. It was his home, it was also a bar, a good place to be. But when the flows poured down the mountainside, his house was the first to go. His new home is what he calls "shed". But he is philosophical and optimistic. There is a future, he is not going anywhere.



Pass the indigestion tablets please

Commentary
Peter Preston

THERE are two questions that journalists—like everyone else—should always ask themselves. What are the facts of the matter? And do they make human sense? You can't, usefully, ask one without the other. Bill Clinton and Saddam Hussein need both.

What are the Clinton facts? There are a lot of them. She is a woman, she is a politician, she is a mother, she is a wife, she is a friend, she is a rival, she is a prosecutor, and she is a woman. What are the Clinton facts? There are a lot of them. She is a woman, she is a politician, she is a mother, she is a wife, she is a friend, she is a rival, she is a prosecutor, and she is a woman.



Polly Toynbee

Lewinsky? Nor did he tell anyone to lie. The American public, in the polls, would seem to believe him for the moment—or at least not to care very much. But their role in this crisis isn't central. I mean, come on, you guys, I mean, we all know Bill's a sleazebag. I mean, have you been to Arkansas?

There's Whitewater. There was a man called Vince Foster. There are blondes and brunettes falling out of Little Rock cupboards. You read in the papers a couple of weeks ago that secret service agents saw the president doing it with Monica. Last week the Wall Street Journal found a butler who'd caught them in flagrante, and the New York Times had Clinton coaching his private secretary about what to tell the grand jury. Did you catch that press conference he gave with Blair? Of course there's Big Mike, those journals—even Mike Brunson from ITN—kept on asking about it.

Pause for a fact check. Whitewater, in Clinton terms, is an investigation going nowhere. Ditto Vince Foster. There were no watching secret service agents. The paper which broke the story apologised for it. There doesn't appear to have been a flagrant butler. His lawyer vehemently denies it. And the private secretary's lawyer seems pretty keen on total denial too. Nobody has read the accumulated evidence yet. Comment is free and the facts are vestigial.

Human sense? On the one hand, the fellow has reputation. You want me to do the Gennifer stuff again? Anybody who is anybody, from Norman Mailer (up or down), reckons that he has serial for-

nication and serial fibbing for breakfast. But on the other hand, why should he—even he—be so categoric, so ready to say "never"? Why should Tony Blair (with the chance of a passing opinion from M16) be so sure? Why stake the pot on a tale—like the secretary's—which is already on tape, canned for future scrutiny? Whatever happened to "innocent until proved guilty"? It may add up in the end, but there aren't three, never mind five, baked beans on the plate yet.

The American president must be guilty. The Iraqi President must be burned because he threatens to obliterate us

Pause for another fact and sense check. Saddam is a vicious gangster (or at least has turned out to be since the days when we pined him with arms and friendship). But where does the "global conquest" song come from? What has he started, that must be "stopped"? On his record, he's a Capone playing the odds, making sure that the army he gets chewed up in Kuwait contains none of the Republican Guards who keep him in power. He murders and tortures his own

Saddam Hussein, by contrast, is eating his roast lamb as usual somewhere in a bunker around Baghdad. Ah, now we're on firmer ground. We have a better fix on him. He shoots anyone who disagrees with him. He bombs and gasses his enemies, whether Kurds or Iraqis. He invades his neighbours. He is heap malign medicine.

But now, apparently, he has turned into something even worse: a kind of super Boleyn bent on world domination, or scorching the earth a mad tyrant stuffing anthrax into warheads. He must be stopped. Bill and Tony and Robin tell us so most plaintively.

Boris informs us that the future of the world hangs in the balance (until his last announcement gets cancelled). Since James Bond appears to be on holiday, four aircraft carriers and 350 warplanes will have to serve.

weak citizens. His Gulf War effort was pathetic miscalculation and inefficiency. Boleyn? More Blowhard.

Never push parallels too far, but don't neglect them either. Judge Starr, the special prosecutor, doesn't need to be a closet Republican to want to "get" Bill Clinton. He's spent four of his best years on the job. Of course, it's not human nature to come up empty, to find them wasted years.

And if you were a UN weapons inspector in Iraq (especially an American one) wouldn't some of the same feeling tug at your consciousness? Wouldn't you, perfectly naturally, accentuate the possible? Wouldn't the Wall Street Journal or CNN add coatings of certainty along the way?

The American president must be guilty because everybody who is anybody knows he is. The Iraqi President must be burned (if at all possible) because everybody knows he threatens to obliterate the world. The evidence is what everybody knows. Ho-hum.

Let's bleed the facts and human behaviour again into a couple of tentative conclusions. The smart, unnaturally calm Bill Clinton we see on show reckons he has a good chance of surviving intact, unimpaired. And the street smart, unnaturally repugnant Saddam Hussein who is set down on show will shortly do what he usually does in such hind: accept some last-minute compromise which saves his own neck and makes it just that bit more difficult for presidents and prime ministers to ratchet up the ante again. Not one feeding frenzy, but two: and two bouts of pending, slightly ridiculous indigestion.

Bombs away—let's kill a few children



Paul Foot

OPONENTS of the Vietnam war devised a slogan in the form of a question to the then President of the United States, Lyndon Baines Johnson: "Hey, Hey, LBJ, how many kids have you killed today?" The slogan needs to be adapted slightly to fit the current crisis in the Gulf. "Hey, Hey, Blair and Bill, how many kids do you plan to kill?" Killing thousands of children and other civilians is the only certain consequence of the bombing of Iraq by British and US warplanes.

All the claimed justifications for the mass slaughter of Iraqis last time—in 1991—have vanished. There is no mandate for the bombing from the United Nations, no mandate from the other Arab states, no invasion of territory by Iraq, no explanation of how the use of weapons of mass destruction can annihilate weapons of mass destruction without the casualties leaping from thousands to millions.

So what is the only argument left to Blair and Clinton? It is that Saddam Hussein is a brutal dictator, that we must "stand up to him", "keep him in check", and that only US armed forces are capable of doing so. Leave aside the long list of brutal dictators heroically supported by post-war US governments: Trujillo, Duvalier, Marcos, Pinochet, Galtieri, Noriega, Sukarno, the House of Saud.

Perhaps Saddam Hussein is worse than all of these. The point is, however, that Saddam himself would not be where he is today without support from the Pentagon and Whitehall.

NO LESS an authority than Oliver North has told us how the US government, from the very start of the war between Iran and Iraq in 1980, "quietly sided with Iraq" under its own dictator, Saddam Hussein. When the war ended eight years later, bequeathing to both countries a mountain of debt and 1,000,000 corpses, the US and British governments rushed to sell arms to the dictator of Baghdad.

In an ecstatic paper on Iraq, William Waldegrave, "moderate" minister of state at the Foreign Office, could not contain himself. "I doubt if there is any future market on such a scale anywhere where the UK is potentially so well placed if we play our diplomatic hand correctly, nor can I think of any major market

where the importance of diplomacy is so great to our commercial position." He and his fellow ministers relaxed the guidelines on the export of arms to Iraq, and a great river of British "defence equipment" flowed into Baghdad.

When, two years later, Saddam used the equipment to invade Kuwait and threaten the supply of cheap oil to the USA, he quickly became a "brutal dictator" and was crushed. In the moment of military defeat, he seemed doomed. At last, the way was clear for the people of Iraq to throw off their hated oppressor. But then US policy switched again. The deployment of the victorious allied forces was devoted not to toppling Saddam but to keeping him in power. The fear of popular revolution was far, far greater than the continued regime of a brutal dictator. The whole region might be "destabilised". The Iraqi Kurds might win their autonomy, and inspire Kurdish communities elsewhere. What would happen then to the "stable" regimes in Turkey and Syria? Thus Saddam survived, not by accident, as some suggested, still less from some perverse compassion, but by design.

WHY are Saddam's savagery now abusing and threatening him again? The answer is that they expect their dictators to behave. Like Noriega, Saddam refused to curb his vain-glorious ambitions in the interests of the Pentagon. He sulks, and constantly lashes out.

So he has to be "taught a lesson". And if the lesson has to be learned in blood and starvation not by the dictator, but by children and civilians who detest the dictator anyway, who cares?

I was intrigued to hear defence secretary George Robertson listing the awful weapons hidden in Saddam's arsenal. On such matters, genial George cannot always be relied upon. On March 6, 1988, three UN inspectors were shot and killed in Gibraltar by the SAS. BBC News the next morning "reported" that the trio were trying to escape after planting "a huge car bomb in the centre of the colony". Every one of the eleven daily newspapers carried the "fact" of the "huge car bomb". The fact, however, was fiction. As Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe revealed to the Commons that afternoon, there was no bomb in the car.

The truth came so late that Howe didn't have time to brief his "shadow" on the Labour benches, George Robertson. So Robertson proceeded eloquently to denounce the bomb in the car which the Foreign Secretary had just revealed did not exist. If the attack on Iraq is allowed to continue, we can expect a lot more such factual reporting.

My Lords, stop this bully now



Polly Toynbee

Polly Toynbee calls on the upper house to rebel against the Government today and prevent press baron Rupert Murdoch using a price war to cripple competing newspapers

WHAT is the House of Lords good for? Today is one of those rare occasions when the Lords have the chance to prove its worth. In all its arcane oddity, this afternoon they debate the competition bill, a bill which omits to deal specifically with Britain's most pressing competition issue—the predatory price-war of the Murdoch empire. A crucial amendment, cravenly opposed by both Labour and Conservatives, seeks to outlaw it. Can the Lords in their last days assert the democratic importance of a second chamber by rebelling against both parties?

Since 1983 two complaints to the Office of Fair Trading about newspaper predatory pricing have failed under existing law: another delegation of the non-Murdoch press went again to the OFT last week, but with little hope of success. Most of these papers are oddly reticent in public, for fear of sounding like losers. Hence the Telegraph's jauntily ambiguous leader

battle for their country. If Murdoch intimidates the Commons, the Lords must show their mettle.

For the amendment is put, amongst others, by Lord Bore, a former director general of fair trading who is also a loyal Labour peer and adviser. (His special interest is that he is on the board of the Independent.) When he takes it on himself to challenge his own Government's competition policy, then his noble friends should take notice. Across the parties joining Bore is Lord McNally (Lib Dem), Viscount Astor (Con) and Lord Ackerley (Law Lord). Their amendment seeks to outlaw predatory newspaper pricing, or any other action by a dominant media group that might "reduce the diversity and independence of the national newspaper press."

Officially, the Tory whips are ordering their troops to vote down the amendment. But many front benchers say they'll abstain, while Lord Fraser, dealing with the bill for the Tories, says somewhat forlornly: "There is such strength of feeling that what-

I called many of the great and good at random and they declared they'd support it in force. Lord Annan, Lord Lester QC, Lord Dehrendorf, Baroness (Shirley) Williams, Baroness (Sarah) Hogg, Baroness (Mary) Waddock, Baroness (FD) James who said: "I deplore and think it dangerous for any one player in the media to dominate all the others." Lord Rothermere added his voice. "Always in favour of fair and open competition." And there are many more besides.

Many Labour front benchers I spoke to admit they will hang their heads as they troop obediently into the Government lobby, deeply ashamed of themselves. Politics can be a lousy business. (It's also a business for lousies: many of the pusillanimous refused to utter on this, including Lord Wakeham, head of the Press Complaints Commission, paid Rifeal of the newspaper industry, who could not be got to express a view despite a hail of phone calls.)

Today is the day to show why after reform we still need a second chamber, for if this is just a re-run of the same old Commons politics, there's no point. We need those less in the grip of political ambition to sound the alarm when governments push through the wrong laws for bad reasons. For the time being, for as long as the old codgers are still sitting there, they'd better stir their stumps and remind us that a second chamber is there to protect long-term national interests against Commons narrow political self-interest. If Murdoch is not curbed now, he never will

be. So backwoodsmen arise! Throw off your carpet slippers, for you have nothing to loose but your coronets—and you're about to loose them anyway. Come down from your highlands and parklands! Yes, you who never attended last year, my Lords Saint Vincent, Saint Germans, Saint Aldwyn and Saint Helens, Sage and Sele, Vaux of Harrowden, Wemyss and March! Last but not least, you too, Lord Remnant.

And where are the bishops, all 26 with cherished but under-used voting rights? If you want to prove you have a purpose in a reformed House, prove it now. Will any be there? No, said the C of E

press office, except of course the duty bishop who says the prayers. Who will that be? "Oh, it's the Bishop of Chichester on Monday, but he's 81 and I'd be loath for you to disturb him." Surely they can rustle up someone? Eventually the newly installed Bishop of Wakefield called to say he'd go: he was very sympathetic to the amendment but he'd have to listen to the debate.

There's no way of knowing what chance the amendment has. So weird and haphazard is business in the Lords that no one does much lobbying. Most of those I spoke to hadn't been called and hadn't

ever heard of the amendment. Even the ex-politicians are extraordinarily cavalier about their role in Britain's governance: "Sorry, I'll be in the country" or "Bit busy that day".

If the amendment fails, it will be put again in the Commons where rebellion is more serious and more difficult. But it took relatively few rebels on single-parent cuts to alarm and upset the Government. With such an impressive array of names in the Lords, the Government would be well advised to think again. Chris Mullin, influential chair of the Home Affairs Select committee, gives bold warning oow: "If the amend-

ment is defeated in the Lords I shall consider putting down a similar one in the Commons."

Of course this Government can whip through anything it wants—but it has already learnt to its cost that might is not always right. Force doesn't win hearts and minds. This time it knows its own people are firmly in favour of limiting Murdoch's lethal and predatory price war—and most would go much further, with a law against any one owner controlling too much of the nation's media. So, Peers of the Realm, ride out today for one of your last noble battles.

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Enoch Powell

An enigma of awkward passions

THE word most people settled for in trying to describe Enoch Powell, who has died aged 85, was — leaving out the ruder ones — enigmatic. Scholar, soldier, statesman, arch-rebel, philosopher, poet, all crowded so glitteringly into so few early years. Here surely was something to wonder at, this neo-Renaissance figure with a Black Country accent. At the end of the story, the enigma had still not been solved. For we also had a monument of self-contradiction — a man of the hard right who could be a sensitive social reformer, a deeply committed Tory who could urge his colleagues to conspire with the enemy, a master of words who could use them with what many saw as gross irresponsibility, a devout loyalist who could lecture his queen, an atheist and a High Anglican.

At one time and another he was all these things. Powell had little time for anything in between, the reasonable man's halfway house where most tolerable life is carried on. Listening to a Powell speech could be a fascinating, bemusing experience; he would use beautiful, plain words to bewilder. The language, perhaps the human mind itself, was never made to bear such logic. He carried lucidity to the point of obtuseness, even beyond it to somewhere near dementia. His written prose, including many sensible reviews, was more normal; but his verse, which shows some influence of A.E. Housman who taught him at Cambridge, clearly indicates the romantic urge driving him.

Powell and Michael Foot, for years the two best speakers in the Commons, were poles apart politically but alike in their power to exert a mesmerising effect over even a hard-boiled Commons audience. They had a mutual regard, and often joined forces in tactical skirmishing against what they both saw as the common enemy, the Common Market.

He was indeed a hard man to understand, and harder still to fit into current political categories. The contradiction clamoured: the imperialist who wanted to withdraw from the local East, the apparently cold man who once burst into passionate tears in the Commons, the confirmed anti-planner who took on the essentially planning job of Minister of Health in 1960. Nevertheless he regarded himself — and persuaded some admirers to regard him — as a model of logical consistency.

Rational and romantic were at war in him, and it was not always the romantic that won. Nor was there anything obviously romantic, though there might have been to the eye of a Balcan or an Arnold Bennett, about the appearance and manner of this tense, unsmiling man. He looked more like a member of some obscure town council than one of the most controversial politicians of his day. Provincialism was of his essence; and English Midland provincialism at that, than which there is none more introverted. But a Welsh ancestry fired his complex nature. His parents were teachers, and he seemed born to exert diligence and positive merit. He shone at King Edward's School in his native Birmingham and was a highly successful prize-winning student at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became a fellow in the mid-1920s.

By the time he was 25, he was Professor of Greek at Sydney University, and a second world war brigadier

not so long after. Characteristically he had rushed home from Australia to enlist as a private in the Royal Warwickshire Regiment, and promotion came quickly — as it did in all he put his hand and mind to, except his chosen career of politics. He could have been distinguished in academic life; his work on Herodotus suggests that he could have made his mark as a classical scholar; but his excursions into English verse, collected, in 1950, from several slim volumes, hardly suggest that we lost a poet when we gained a politician. The echoes of Housman — another classicist, controversialist and poet — were too audible.

Powell worked for the Conservative Research Department, collaborating with Angus Maude on the pamphlet *One Nation*, and entered Parliament on the big Tory wave of 1950. Powell's Birmingham voice and Wolverhampton constituency soon provided a new English centre of gravity there. A third dominant characteristic, probably linked with his provincialism and his romanticism, made itself felt. This was the urge to make a gesture, to stand conspicuously apart, to pit himself against established orthodoxies in his own party. He started in a small way, brush-

Rational and romantic were at war in him, and it was not always the romantic that won

ing with his local Conservative Association. It was as though he was rehearsing for major rebellions.

The first came in 1958, when as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, he resigned with Peter (later Lord) Thorpe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Nigel Birch, the Economic Secretary, in protest against the Government's refusal to hold back public expenditure to a level acceptable to them — the episode which Harold Macmillan christened "a little local difficulty". The second was when he stood out against the king-making convulsions in the Conservative Party which led to Sir Alec Douglas Home's succession.

The third, and by far the most sensational, gesture compelled Heath to sack him from the Shadow Cabinet in April 1968, because of the "rivers of blood" speech he made in Birmingham about immigration. It was made without consulting any of his colleagues, who criticised it more for the intemperance of its language than for its basic message. Those who had been working for better race relations bitterly criticised that too.

Whether Powell was truly a racist is a matter of semantics. (Ironically, his bravest and most passionate speech at Westminster had demanded the exposure of British maltreatment of Mau Mau suspects in Kenya, a decade earlier.) Whether or not he calculated the result of the Birmingham speech in advance — there were few who believed he did not — they were easily calculable and the outcome was ugly. He raised fears and hatreds to a state of tension overnight. A pro-Powell campaign reached a pitch of near-hysteria and there were some unpleasant incidents.

On the best interpretation Powell, a man of strong imperialist sympathies, was un-



Enoch Powell... a tense, unsmiling man hard to understand

PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SHILLING (above); NEIL LUSSETT

generous in treating the post-imperial human legacy with such cynicism or at least selfish disregard. Many held that he was also cashing in on genuinely-felt social fears. Nor was logic on his side. In his temperamental war with emotion, reason lost. This episode also brought out his most alarming and sometimes absurd characteristic, the Cassandra complex coupled with a penchant for Delphic utterance. References to "the river foaming with much blood" needed a sense of classical distancing easily missed in Wolverhampton's back streets.

Powell was not the first or the last politician to be caught between the concept of the act, the purity of the idea and the twist and turns of real life, but in his case the gift for abstraction was so



advanced that the gap yawned wider than for most. This created in him a sense of danger, a tension that communicated, which was more than his argument always did. As a speaker in the Commons he

often seemed to deploy a fiercely private logic, yet his carefully articulated, pedantic performances could make irrelevance sound prophetic. Few could always remember what he said, but they were

always impressed by the intensity with which he said it. One of his early posts on achieving junior office was of Housing (1955-57). Then came the Treasury post from which he resigned over government spending. Yet it was as head of a major spending department, Health, that he reached the Cabinet.

The next phase of his career was marked by some searing attacks on political hypocrisy. Though ostensibly over his bitter opposition to the European Community and our part in it, the abandonment, in 1974, of his Wolverhampton seat and the Conservative Party (over Europe) looked like self-punishment, almost a kind of self-mutilation for a man with his advanced sense of loyalty.

He was afraid that the cred-

ibility gap between parliament and people was growing all the time, as was the need "to match the person to the institution." His personal attempt to do this, as he explained with a flash of the charm he could deploy when he chose, was to change "the ugly accent compounded of Birmingham, Staffordshire and Australia" for the "beautiful fitting language of Ulster." But it was a deeper change he really sought: it was the best, indeed the only, chance in sight of taking another stand against the demon of ambiguity and double talk.

As Ulster Unionist Member for South Down (1983-87) he lived in the world of absolutes, of jet blacks and shining whites. In that sense if in no other, he was at home. Asked in an unguarded moment during an interview how often he went to Ireland he replied coldly that he never went to Ireland but frequently went to Ulster. The continuing atrocities, in particular the Harrods bombing, he blamed on "double talk and double-dealing on the part of Britain which has kept the IRA and their fellow murderers in business these last dozen years." It was as MP for South Down that his private member's bill to ban research on human embryos failed to

The sharpness of his glance was like a snake striking; here was a dangerous old man

reach the statute books, but not before it had received considerable support.

In December 1985 he resigned his seat in protest against the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and was re-elected at the ensuing by-election — but at the next general election, in 1987, he was out of Parliament and it would have taken a brave prime minister to send him to the Lords as a parting present. It never happened.

His last book, *The Evolution of the Gospel* (1994), was typically challenging, raising questions about how Christ might have died. Powell never grew old gracefully.

He is survived by his wife, Pamela, whom he married in 1952, and two daughters.

Norman Shrapnell

Mike Phillips writes: The first time I met Enoch Powell I felt me feeling embarrassed, guilty and a little sorry for him. These weren't emotions I would have predicted, given who he was, and the impact he had had on my life, but this was late in the 1970s, and by then his audience had dwindled and his charisma had begun to fade.

Even so, his name still had enough potency for the prospect of debating with him to carry a substantial emotional charge. The occasion was a BBC programme called *The Editors*. I am not sure what I was expecting but when we met, before the event, he was punctiliously courteous. He made small talk without being prompted, asking questions like how long it had taken me to get to Wood Lane, and whether the traffic had been bad.

His voice was a surprise, too. I had expected to find it disturbing but, face to face, it was ready, almost musical. He still sounded stiff, awkward with the cadences of informal chat, but I had no doubt about his sincerity, and resentful as I was, I

began to think there was something immensely likeable about him.

On the other hand, he wasn't a charmer. As we walked to the make-up circle he remarked that since none of the participants appeared to be editors, perhaps the programme should be renamed. I hastened to point out that I was editor of an ethnic paper, but it was too late. He'd taken the high ground.

At the time I was just pressed. Over the years I had begun to think of him as a demagogue, who'd struck it lucky, but in that moment the silky fluency of his tone, combined with the sharpness of the glance he gave me, was like a snake striking — and suddenly, like a new insight, it hit me that here was a dangerous old man.

Not that I had ever thought of him as anything else. Up until Powell began making his speeches about race the views he was expressing had widespread currency in private but in public they were disreputable, stuck out there in a margin to the right of the Conservatives. Immigrants were accustomed to hearing white people complain but in general, we had a sense that the Notting Hill riots in 1958 had been a watershed, after which a liberal consensus had emerged among the politicians which would, somehow, protect us if the worst came to the worst.

Powell destroyed our complacency in one night. His speech about seeing the Tiber "foaming with much blood" was like a key to Pandora's box. I'm not sure how strongly most other immigrants reacted, but we all felt the dramatic change. It was hard to say quite how it had happened, but Powell had become a rallying point for most of the hostility and rage we encountered, a shorthand for hatred and contempt. "I'm with Enoch," they said, or "they should let Enoch sort you lot out," and that was enough.

What was hardest to bear, the pervasive sense that the politicians, the people who were meant to be in charge, seemed to be afraid of him and what he could do. In those days he cropped up in all sorts of places. Johnny Speight's bigoted *AT Carnet*, on TV every week, offered him up in a domesticated package and gave him a renewed currency. He became a myth, a bogymen, in whose name blacks and Asians were to be harassed and assaulted for the next couple of decades.

In hindsight, I think it would be flattering Powell to say that he was entirely responsible for the effect of his speeches, but it's true that by marrying his version of nationalism to racist rage he gave British racism and racism in British streets its own peculiar momentum. Powellism, he offered British politicians a model for racialist rhetoric which was to last for a long time — when, a decade later, Mrs Thatcher spoke of British civilisation being "swamped" by the Powell life echoes were unmistakable, and successful.

His memory will probably have me looking over my shoulder in the streets of my own city, London, for the rest of my life, and although the thought would probably make me furious, I shall always think of him as part of my history and as part of my identity as a Briton.

John Enoch Powell, politician, born June 18, 1912; died February 8, 1998

Carl Wilson

California dreamin'

AS A guitarist, singer and songwriter, the contribution of Carl Wilson, who has died aged 51, to the Beach Boys was second only to that of his eldest brother Brian. Carl, Brian and their middle brother Dennis grew up in the Los Angeles suburb of Hawthorne, three miles from the Pacific Ocean. The brothers would sing themselves to sleep harmonising on hymn tunes, but their musical career began in earnest in 1961 when they were left alone in the house while their parents left for a trip to Mexico. They hired musical instruments with the money left to buy food and by the time their parents returned they had composed three songs. Their aggressive and abusive father, Murry Wilson, was only diverted from beating his sons by his awareness that the songs showed promise. He went on to mastermind the early development of the group, his son formed with their cousin

Mike Love and friend Al Jardine.

The group was first named Carl and the Passions, then the Pendletones and, finally, the Beach Boys. Brian's enthusiasm for the close harmony singers, the Four Freshmen, determined the group's vocal style. He and Carl had perfect pitch, and Carl would provide the lead voice on many of the Beach Boys' best-known songs. These were initially inspired by Dennis's mastery of the surfboard which led Brian to compose *Surfer's Girl*, the first song the group recorded. According to one of their biographers, the first time the 15-year-old Carl heard the track played on the radio he celebrated by drinking so many milk shakes that he threw up.

Carl was also the guitarist of the group, notably contributing the Chuck Berry-derived solo on *Surfer's Girl*, one of the early hits from 1963. The song was just one of a stream of hits in the early 1960s, which included *Surfer's*

Safari, *I Get Around*, *Help Me Rhonda*, and *California Girls*. These tuneful, optimistic three-minute anthems evoked an idealised teenage existence which entranced young listeners worldwide. By the time the Beatles hit America, the Beach Boys were the country's top pop group and intense artistic rivalry would stimulate some of the best recordings made by each group.

However, at the end of 1964, Brian announced he was retiring from the group and, although he continued to contribute many songs, he was never again a regular performer with the Beach Boys. This gave Carl a greater responsibility as a singer and he eventually sang the lead vocals on two of the group's highest hits, *God Only Knows* and *Good Vibrations*.

In January 1967 Carl refused to be drafted for military service, citing his conscientious objection to the Vietnam war. After a series of court hearings, he was sen-



The Beach Boys... from left, Dennis Wilson, Brian Wilson, Mike Love, Al Jardine, Carl Wilson

tenced to community service, which the group carried out through a series of free concerts at hospitals and schools. Their relationship to the turbulent "underground" scene of the late 1960s was complex. Apparently worried that their surfing image would not go down well with the hippies and their "flower power" music, they turned down an offer to appear at the Monterey Pop Festival in

1967, only to fall under the spell of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. Unlike other pop converts to transcendental meditation, the Beach Boys undertook a US tour with their guru. It was a disaster. After the group played a medley of their hits, the Maharishi delivered a lecture in the second half. However, most of the audience left at the interval, prompting a rueful Mike Love to remark, "If anyone

benefits from this tour, it will be the florists."

With Brian's absences from the group growing more frequent, Carl came into his own as a songwriter in the early 1970s. On the critically-acclaimed *Surfer's Up* album he contributed *Feel Flows* and *Long Promised Road*. He also produced the 1972 album *Holland*.

In the mid-1970s the group's former record company issued the first of many albums re-packaging their early surfing hits. Their shows also heavily featured new Beach Boys recordings with past hits. Frustrated by this, Carl left the group in 1981 to record a solo album and to tour. However, he returned to the fold and his role became even more crucial after Dennis Wilson died in a swimming accident in 1983.

Capitalising on the apparently limitless demand for a reprise of the "endless summer" of their surfing songs, the Beach Boys have been among the most indefatigable of performing groups in the past two decades, surpassed in the US only by the Grateful Dead. With their annual concert series, they regularly appeared in the top

10 of American touring artists and they have maintained their popularity in Europe.

The ubiquity of their songs on the world's airwaves virtually guaranteed them a slot at the Live Aid concert in Philadelphia in 1985, but the high point of this Indian summer came in 1988 when they had their biggest hit for more than two decades with *Kokomo*, a song featured in the film *Cocaine*.

In the same year the group was inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame. Carl's musical career was devoted single-mindedly to the group which grew out of three brothers' musical experiments in suburban Hawthorne. Even after lung cancer had been diagnosed, he took part in the group's 1997 tour (its 38th) while undergoing chemotherapy.

His vital contribution to the longevity of the Beach Boys as a pop music institution had been summed up back in the late 1960s by his brother Brian, who said, "Carl always kept a cool head. He was the greatest stabilising influence in the group."

Dave Laing

Carl Dean Wilson, musician, born December 21, 1946; died February 7, 1998

Birthdays

Mae Farrow, actress, 53; Kathryn Grayson, actress-singer, 76; Ben E King, bluesman, 56; Amanda Root, opera singer, 32; Marilyn Hill-Smith, soprano, 46; Gordon Strachan, football manager, 41; Janet Suzman, actress, 58.

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

IN THE Analysis page article on the Lottery (February 4), we published figures supplied by the Lottery Promotion Company which may have implied that Camelot's own published figures are inaccurate. We now accept that the figures we published were incomplete and that Camelot's published information about its figures is accurate and that there is no money unaccounted for as alleged.

In Memoriam

LUCKHURST, Matt, died 8.2.98. Don't loved son and brother. So early missed. Please your announcement telephone 01773 524000 or fax 01773 524000 between 9am and 5pm Mon-Fri.

Handwritten signature: "J. Wilson 1950"

Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
Telephone: 0171-239-9610
Fax: 0171-833-4456

FinanceGuardian

Senior jobs go begging at FSA

Don Atkinson and Mark Miller

CHANCELLOR Gordon Brown's all-purpose regulator, the Financial Services Authority, has yet to fill four of its senior positions, despite an appeal for City bosses to allow high-flyers to join it on secondment. Among the positions still vacant are that of finance director and of markets and exchanges supremo.

Despite financial firms' repeated claims that they want to see involvement by experienced City people at the highest levels of the agency, a recent mail-shot from chairman Howard Davies elicited only one response. Professional advisers such as lawyers and accountants are believed to have been more forthcoming, but overall the FSA is thought to be dismayed by the reaction.

Pay is a major stumbling block; the FSA can set its own rates, within limits, but it is thought to have been taken aback by the materialistic attitudes of some it would have liked to have on board.

The vacant positions are: head of markets and exchanges — a vital post if the FSA is granted, as it wishes, power to direct London's marketplaces; head of retail investment business, the pivot post for the execution of the FSA's mandate to protect small investors; finance director, the official responsible for managing the agency's multimillion pound budget; and head of consumer relations, a new position that will involve the management of the FSA's permanent surveillance of consumer attitudes and the feelings of ordinary investors about the efficacy of regulation.

To an extent, the recruitment problems arise from the creation of a number of disparate organisations, including the Bank of England bank-supervision unit and the Securities and Investments Board. None of its predecessors had a sufficiently large budget to justify employing a high-powered finance director, or the special role for monitoring consumer affairs now within the FSA's ambit.

But that is not the regulator's only problem. It is likely to find some of its existing personnel giving notice after Friday, when detailed contracts of employment are offered. It is thought several officials who previously held high rank within their organisations will be discontented at being further down the pecking order within the larger authority.

FSA recruiters are thought to feel that the consumer position will prove least difficult to fill, but the real disappointment is thought to be the City's response to attempts to find a markets and exchanges supremo. This will be a crucial position — assuming Parliament grants Mr Davies the powers he desires to oversee all market activity.

The post will involve monitoring of London's various markets. Senior City figures have long argued that the market-supervision role calls for long experience of exchange activity, and last month Mr Davies wrote to senior City figures that he had "identified a number of very important gaps in crucial posts which we are now looking outside to fill".

The near-zero response to the FSA's appeal for staff so far, however, seems to indicate that pay and bonuses remain a substantial barrier to secondments.

Herr Hook makes mark



In German finance minister Theo Waigel's office on the German mark, then official government policy suggests he should be? Germany is preparing to give up the mark in favour

of the euro in 2002 but this weekend Mr Waigel was wrapped in Austria, dressed as Captain Hook, with a wad of 100-mark notes speared on the eponymous appendage. No doubt he

will be telling Chancellor Helmut Kohl he was simply entering into the carnival spirit.

PHOTOGRAPH BY HERBERT SPYER

American notebook

Bill faces tough wrangle over IMF



Mark Tran

THE White House finds it challenging enough to squeeze money out of Congress for the International Monetary Fund at the best of times. As the IMF is under sustained attack for its handling of Asia's financial crisis, the administration's request is likely to be one of the most contentious pieces of legislation before Congress this year.

The Clinton administration knows the stakes are high. In a dazzling line-up rarely seen in Congress, Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and Defence Secretary William Cohen this month all emphasised the importance of supporting the IMF as a way of preventing the Asian crisis from spreading to the rest of the world economy.

Proposals for the IMF have frequently run into congressional opposition, although ultimately presidents have prevailed. But nothing can be taken for granted, especially after President Clinton's failure last year to win approval for fast-track authority to negotiate global trade agreements, a privilege accorded every president since Gerald Ford 30 years ago. The same unlikely coalition of conservatives and liberals that thwarted Mr Clinton on "fast track" again stands in the way on IMF funding.

Approving the administration's \$18 billion (£11 billion) request, the Wall Street Journal warned, would be "inviting real economic disaster". IMF managing director Michel Camdessus took on his critics in a speech to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York last Friday.

The centrepiece of its programmes in Asia, Mr Camdessus argued, was not austerity but a set of "forward-looking structural reforms to strengthen financial systems, increase transparency and open markets".

effective surveillance over economic policies, regional surveillance, financial sector reform, more effective structures for orderly debt workouts, including better bankruptcy laws, orderly capital account liberalisation and a strengthening of international financial institutions, including their financial resources.

This sounds all well and good, but the IMF's credibility has been tarnished because it failed to anticipate the Asian crisis, despite the constant harping about surveillance. The IMF has been talking about the need for improved surveillance for years but still gets caught napping. Three months before the Asian crisis hit, the organisation's 1997 annual report dished out unstinting praise for Korea and Thailand for their "remarkable economic performance".

IF THE IMF falls short in its basic task of surveillance, no wonder congressmen harbour doubts about the institution. On the issue of capital account liberalisation, the IMF and the West must take some blame for forcing Asian countries to dismantle capital and currency controls without ensuring that the financial institutions were sound enough to cope with the risks of globalisation. If sound financial systems are so critical, why has the IMF waited until now to push for transparency and openness in banking institutions?

Even its supporters think that it is time for the organisation to change as a condition for receiving more American money. Jim Leach, chairman of the House Banking Committee, has called for more transparency at the organisation. With a more open policy in releasing working papers, past evaluations and other documents, including all letters of intent, Mr Leach also wants the IMF to set up an operations evaluation department modelled on the World Bank's.

His bill has something for everyone in an attempt to get liberals and conservatives on board. It says the IMF should not be a lender of last resort for private investors and that its policies should support workers' rights, including the right to join an independent trade union and appropriate environmental policies. But opponents to IMF funding will take some persuading.

The administration may have to settle for half a loaf. There are two pieces of the IMF request: \$5.5 billion for the Fund's credit line for emergencies; and \$14.5 billion for the US share to boost the IMF's capital base. The former is the more critical request, and that is the administration's top priority.

The administration is expected to delay its request for the \$14.5 billion quota increase, accompanied by a wider debate on the IMF. For all its flaws, it remains the only institution equipped to deal with international financial crises. The Clinton administration has to show its muscle by persuading Congress to uphold commitments made by the White House to international institutions like the UN and the IMF.

L&C to ensure solvent liquidation if link fails

Nicholas Bannister, Chief Business Correspondent

LONDON & Continental Railways yesterday claimed that it has secured adequate funds from its shareholders to pay creditors and staff if it is forced to give up the project to build the £5.4 billion rail link between London and the Channel tunnel.

The L&C consortium will have to be run down if it is unable to come up with a viable and acceptable scheme to finance the project by the Government-imposed deadline of February 27.

The consortium is trying to persuade half-a-dozen companies, including Railtrack, to help bail it out. If it fails, the Government will take control of the project together with the European rail service.

The Railtrack board is to meet on Thursday to consider a proposal to reduce the cost of the 68-mile project by building it in stages.

The Railtrack plan also in-

involved working with an operator who would rent the line and guarantee to pay "access charges".

A Railtrack spokesman said: "Rather than take the link all the way under London in the first phase, we could build the track from the tunnel to North Kent and then link it with an existing line ending at Waterloo Station."

"This would be a lot cheaper than doing the fully-fledged link in one year. As income flows, we could build the revenue to continue developing the line."

An L&C spokesman said that the consortium meant that the conclude Richard Branson's Virgin Group, the American engineering company Bechtel, and the London investment bank SBC Warburg, would invest a further £30 million, bringing their total contribution to the originally agreed £100 million.

"This will ensure that we will have a solvent liquidation, with enough to pay creditors and staff, if we have to

run down the consortium," a spokesman said.

However L&C is still struggling to come up with a new scheme which will be acceptable, particularly to John Prescott, the deputy prime minister, who turned down the consortium's request for a further £1.2 billion of Government money.

Banking sources believe that whoever takes the project will have to redesign the link to cut costs or to produce a different financial structure. Any package would have to be based on "practicalities, rather than projections," said one banker.

L&C is being advised by SBC Warburg, but weekend speculation suggested that some of the consortium partners were already seeking independent advice on keeping the rail-link project going.

It is thought they have asked Eurorail, the unsuccessful bidder for the project, whether they are still interested in taking part.

Merger mania 'hurts economy'

Charlotte Denny

MERGER mania could be undermining corporate investment and harming the economy's long-term growth potential, according to research from the Bank of England.

In contrast to previous recoveries investment has fallen since the economy began picking up in early 1992, despite high corporate profitability and the low cost of capital.

Capital spending as a share of gross domestic product is about a fifth lower than at the same stage in the 1980s recovery, according to Simon Whitaker, from the Bank's economic analysis unit.

The Bank is concerned because it believes that investment determines the long-term capacity of the economy to meet growing demand without re-igniting inflation. Low investment now could harm growth in the future.

In a paper published today

Mr Whitaker says part of the problem was that unrealistic expectations of future growth during the boom in the late 1990s caused firms to over-expand capacity, so business investment at the start of the recovery was relatively high.

Another factor has been the renewed popularity of mergers and acquisitions.

"The mergers and acquisitions boom and associated high dividend payouts may also have diverted funds away from investment in fixed capital," says Mr Whitaker. "Firms have been expanding via acquisitions and, as a result, a large proportion of profits has been paid out to shareholders as dividends."

Problems measuring investment spending may be another part of the explanation. At the moment, the Office for National Statistics does not count spending on computer software as contributing to capital stock. This definition will change later on this year when the ONS moves to the new European system.

Lilley says Chancellor's saving plan hits prudent

Financial staff

THE Government's plans for Individual Savings Accounts came under attack last night from shadow chancellor Peter Lilley, who said they had been "rightly and almost universally" condemned for being fundamentally flawed.

The findings of the consultation period had exposed that the scheme was a retrospective attack on prudent savers, he said.

Issues which are designed to replace Tessa and Peps, were far too costly to attract small savers, had an unnecessarily low £50,000 lifetime limit and were a regulatory nightmare, Mr Lilley claimed.

Mr Lilley based his accusations on submissions to the Treasury from the CBI, the Institute for Fiscal Studies and the National Institute for Economic and Social Research.

"Consultation has exposed fatal flaws in what was supposed to be the Government's big idea for savings. Chancellor Gordon Brown will have to go back to the drawing board," Mr Lilley said.

Research had shown that about 750,000 people who had built up savings in good faith would lose tax relief on savings over £50,000 in Peps and Tessa. "Their plans for retirement will be hit retrospectively," he said.

Issues have also come under fire from tax experts. Last week, Ernst & Young attacked IAs as a "potential administrative nightmare that would be almost impossible for the Inland Revenue to police."

Other City experts have criticised the scheme for including a life assurance element which will require long-term commitments from savers who may find it disadvantageous to have to tie up their savings for long periods.

A Treasury spokesman said the consultation period had come to an end and the Government was looking carefully at the views expressed.

Bumper profits for Lloyds TSB

This week

Tony May

ALL eyes will be on Lloyds TSB when it kicks off the bank reporting season on Friday. Brian Fitzmaurice's empire is expected to report bumper profits totalling £3 billion, over £2 billion up on last year.

Profits from Reuters tomorrow are expected to be between £880-905 million compared with £701 million a year ago. Analysts say they cannot quantify the potential legal liabilities threatening Reuters over allegations that it improperly obtained and used information from Bloomberg, a US-based competitor.

British Airways should report a profit of about £80 million today for the third quarter of 1997, compared with £113 million a year earlier. Analysts said there was a wide range of forecasts on offer because of differing interpretations of the treatment of exceptional items.

BP is expected to turn in broadly higher earnings, helped by heavy restructuring, cost cutting and the benefits of its merger of European downstream operations with Mobil Corp. Its full-year replacement cost net income is forecast between £2.8 billion and £2.95 billion, up from £2.82 billion a year earlier.

But Shell is expected to turn in flat or lower profits of between £5.0-5.2 billion against £5.2 billion a year ago.

Holy Golf riles Church

MARLISE SIMONS on bishops' challenge to Volkswagen

FRANCE'S church fathers are heading for a legal showdown with Europe's biggest carmaker, Volkswagen, in a fight to define what, if anything, is sacred or profane in advertising.

The French Catholic bishops are suing VW's French operation and its advertising agency over their "mocking" of the religious images to promote the latest model of the Golf.

The bishops are demanding close to £400,000 (£244,000) in damages, to be given to an aid organisation in Sudan.

The offending posters, which appeared late last month in streets and metro stations around the country, are a series of four images, of which the most irksome, according to a church spokesman, is a parody of Christ's Last Supper. In the caption, the figure in the car is said to be "My Christ's place" because a new Golf is born.

In France the church hierarchy has caused surprise to take action over the posters. This, after all, is the land where a classic image is that of happy

monks promoting beer and liqueurs and where nuns, their eyes cast upward, praise heavenly cakes.

Foreigners are often taken back at the omnipresence of the nude female body on television or public billboards, where it is used to peddle everything from shampoo to yogurt.

Bernard Lagoutte, secretary general of the French Bishops' Conference, which filed the suit, said: "Mockery is a corrosive like rust that gradually erodes everything."

In apparent recognition of the church's power, Volkswagen has stopped the campaign. Last Friday workers scrambled to paper over almost 10,000 of the offending posters, putting up white sheets or simple pictures of cars.

Initially DDB-Needham, the agency who produced the



Golf that caused the gulf between bishops and business

campaign said they expected some believers would be shocked. But Benjamin Pardo, agency director, quickly took a different tack. "We did not mean to shock — we thought the work was done with humour," he said.

NY Times News Service

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 2.37	France 0.92	Italy 2.865	Singapore 2.87
Austria 20.24	Germany 2.877	Malta 0.8510	Spain 7.89
Belgium 55.41	Greece 457.50	Netherlands 3.2319	Sweden 242.02
Canada 2.506	Hong Kong 12.41	New Zealand 2.74	Switzerland 12.57
Cyprus 0.8484	India 84.17	Norway 12.00	Turkey 351.500
Denmark 11.03	Ireland 1.1455	Portugal 293.73	USA 1.6140
Finland 8.51	Israel 5.92	Saudi Arabia 6.08	

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli shekel).

Arsenal close in as Bould stays on

David Lacey

THE sound of some distant though familiar guns may already be haunting Manchester United, Arsenal, who were the champions' closest pursuers until early November, are again closing on the leaders. Although yesterday's comfortable, if combustible, victory at Highbury over Ruud Gullit's drifting Chelsea side did not improve Arsenal's league position, it did strengthen their challenge. The two goals from Stephen Hughes have brought them to within six points of United with a match in hand and they are now only one behind Chelsea, Liverpool and Blackburn Rovers.

With all three of Manchester United's immediate rivals beaten over the weekend, and their Premiership lead increased to five points by a scrambled 1-1 draw at home to struggling Bolton Wanderers, there would seem to be something in the theory that events are conspiring to bring Old Trafford its fifth championship in six seasons.

Certainly Chelsea left Highbury convinced that someone up there did not like them very much, although the principal object of their displeasure was the thoroughly earthy figure of Dermot Gallagher, the Banbury referee. After 12 minutes, with Arsenal already a goal up, Gallagher was content to caution Steve Bould after the defender had pulled Gianluca Vialli back by his shirt as the Italian surged on to an aberrant back-header from Emmanuel Petit.

In the present climate most referees would have sent Bould off, and remembering how a Coventry defender, Paul Williams, was recently dismissed by Steve Lodge for making minimal contact with Dennis Bergkamp in a similar position at Highfield Road, Gallagher's decision appeared perverse to say the least.

Yesterday Gullit was careful not to echo the Coventry manager Gordon Strachan's tirade against Hodge but he made no bones about his feelings. "Vialli was going straight for goal," he insisted. "Bould has to be sent off, there is no other solution. If you make a foul like that in any country in the world it's



When the Blues saw red... Gianluca Vialli is hauled back by Arsenal's Steve Bould, who escaped what appeared a sending-off offence

a sending-off. But the referee wants to do it his way and this is not on. If he had given that decision in the Nou Camp he would not have been allowed to go out."

An attempt by Arsenal's manager Arsene Wenger to throw doubt on the issue was not convincing. "Vialli is very experienced. He waited for the foul. Certainly Bould pushed him, but I did not think it was a red card because Gilles Grimandi was in front of Vialli when he was fouled."

This was the reason Gallagher gave for not sending off Bould. Perhaps Grimandi was covering by the time Vialli went down, but he would surely not have got across in time had the Arsenal defender not grabbed hold of the Chelsea man's shirt in the first place.

Unwisely Chelsea - who last September lost Frank Leboeuf for two bookable fouls on Bergkamp as Arsenal won 3-2 at Stamford Bridge - allowed their indignation at

Bould's continued presence to overrule their judgment. Until half-time they seemed set on little other than taking on Arsenal in a rough-house, and no team with any sense ever sets out to humiliate the arch-humiliators.

The truth was that an Arsenal side imbued in 10 matches were the masters in most areas. Gullit's midfield seldom got to grips with Stephen Hughes, Petit and the outstanding Ray Parlour, and hard though Mark Hughes

worked up front he was frequently closed down by Arsenal defenders working in twos and threes.

The opening goal, after three minutes, followed a mistake by Leboeuf, who failed to cut out a nod-down from Bergkamp and compounded the error by losing his footing. Nicolas Anelka then saw one shot beaten out by Ed Coey and another blocked by Laurent Charvet, whose clearance was trumped back into the net by Stephen Hughes.

A lot of undistinguished, tacky football followed until four minutes before half-time when Adams headed back Bergkamp's free-kick from the byline and Hughes's alert head glanced the ball past De Gea.

In all Gallagher cautioned seven players: three from Arsenal, four from Chelsea. Bergkamp's booking for catching Dennis Wise off the ball in stoppage time, rather summed up the mood of the afternoon. But Arsenal are again serious title pretenders all the same.

Blackburn 0, Tottenham Hotspur 3

Spurs gain but pain for Ferdinand

Michael Walker

RONY ALERT. Only 20 minutes remained of this strange, unpredictable match when at last something normal and predictable happened: Les Ferdinand made a premature departure.

He looked in some pain and the immediate thought was that he would have to withdraw from the England squad for the Chile game, and sure enough that was confirmed yesterday. Normally, of course, his replacement would come from the B squad, and until the telephonic events of last Wednesday the leading candidate would, ironically, have been Christopher Sutton.

But no. Ewood Park hoisted chants of "Sutton for England" but his remarks yesterday will have killed off any possibility of a reconciliation. "The vibes I'm getting, obviously Glenn Hoddle doesn't rate me," he said. "I was probably naive but I believed, stupidly, that I had an outside chance of going to the World Cup and, stupidly, of playing in the Chile game."

"I am bitterly disappointed to have made the decision but I must stand by what I believe. I am not being big-headed; nobody wants to play for their country more than me."

Comparing Sutton with Ferdinand on Saturday, it was hard not to have some sympathy for the Rover. Without his trusty sidekick Kevin Gallacher, Sutton appeared to try to do both jobs and made a useful stat at it.

It meant, though, that his main striking role was affected and afterwards Roy

Hodgson bemoaned the fact that all the Blackburn chances fell to Colin Hendry rather than Sutton or, had he been there, Gallagher.

Spurs certainly did not deserve to win by three goals. However, the midfield authority of David Howells and the immaculate first touch and intelligence of David Ginola merited the three points on their own.

Espen Baardsen made good saves, Stephen Carr headed off his own line and generally Tottenham looked like a team again. It was peculiar, then, and maybe telling that the two players Christian Gross selected for particular praise were Ramon Vega and Ferdinand. Vega was consistently out-there, one of Damien Duff, and Hendry had Ferdinand in a seven-year-old pocket all afternoon. But Gross must know what he is talking about.

Or should that be Jürgen Klinsmann? Says it is the injured German wicking the team and that it is only a matter of time before this is made public. Certainly it was Klinsmann's friend Nicola Berti who started the scoring with a powerful toe-poke after 56 minutes.

As Blackburn chased the game, huge gaps began to appear and Chris Armstrong, on for Ferdinand, finally showed the composure to profit from one of them a minute from the end.

Deep into injury-time Ruel Fox added a classy third. He celebrated in familiar fashion: driving his fist across his body in a bizarre salute to Freddie Mercury. And who was the only Fox's best mate from his Norwich days, Chris Sutton. Oh, the irony.

Coventry City 1, Sheffield Wednesday 0

Dion does the Do Ron Wrong

Jeremy Alexander

THE last it was seen with his first call into the England squad at 28. He was then named the Premiership's Player of the Month, Coventry's first ever. All he had to do to round it off was score the only goal against Sheffield Wednesday. He did, from a late penalty won by his own strength and persistence, to take his run to five in three games and eight in seven. He can do no wrong.

From the outset he overshadowed his former manager Ron Atkinson, whom Coventry moved upstairs last season before easing him out of the attic window. Gordon Strachan, his pupil and successor, called for "a pleasant welcome" to Atkinson, a legend on his own sunbed, entered late, radiating autographs. But the red carpet was not for him. Dublin was at the end of it, receiving his award.

Afterwards Atkinson's bonhomie had gone. "I thought we handled the long ball Coventry play to Dion pretty well, so it was disappointing the goal came from what looked an innocuous situation. I don't know if it was a penalty but most of the lads seemed to think it was, so there's no complaints from me." His expression told otherwise. No ear bonnet or head of hair looked safe.

The settlement of Atkinson's road-rage case on Thursday with a handshake may have encouraged Strachan's goblin mischief with the surly giant. "I've spoken to him a lot on the phone, mainly because he's been trying to lure every member of my team." If that includes Dublin, holding out against

signing a new contract, the price must surely be rocketing.

Glenn Hoddle described him as "the most improved English player over the last 18 months". As smart weapons are superseded by brilliant ones, Dublin turns the clock back to grotesque weapons. Brazil will blink at the sight and their peril. In nothing does he look the part, in everything - for the moment - does he come off.

Where others of similar build glide like silk, Dublin moves as knotted rope; where others suggest balletic poise, he tends to look off-balance but still makes effective nods and flicks. Once, hemmed in on Wednesday's byline, he projected a can-kick with the grace of a pantomime horse and a precision which cleared Kevin Pressman and forced Jon Newsome to a frantic header from under his bar. His ungainliness is beguiling.

Hoddle is said to fancy his versatility: Sol Campbell with knots on. In a match of tight marking and poor control, defence of malice, bookings, intelligence and almost incident, every raising of the pulse sprang from him, except when Foulke flashed an orange boot at a cross and Magnus Hedman matched him with a reflexive save. Without Dublin the game would have been the fourth in succession between the clubs to end goalless.

Last week two academics called for an end to school marks out of 10. The tabloids will persist, of course, encouraging players to rest on laurels or lose heart. But Dublin is above complacency, flying with the angels. The rest, enjoying comfort in numbers, can share a mortal mark: two out of 10 for trying. A lot of effort went a little way.

Premiership: Barnsley 2, Everton 2

Barnsley improve but cannot escape mire and Myrhe

Jon Brodwin

IT COULD have been Barnsley's day. But try as they might they failed to find a way past a goalkeeper who for much of the game could have done with a white stick and a friendly labrador.

Thomas Myrhe, troubled by a dislocated contact lens for the final 27 minutes, pulled off several high-class saves to keep Barnsley bottom and deny them a victory they just about deserved.

The disappointment at Oakwell was palpable. "We lost two points today; we didn't win one," said Barnsley's striker Jan Aage Fjortoft, displaying far clearer vision than his fellow Norwegian. "We know these are win or lose games where you can get a result anywhere."

Barnsley, having taken seven points from a possible 39 on their travels, had better hope so. Even winning six of their seven remaining home matches in Manchester United, Arsenal and Liverpool - would guarantee them only 40 points.

Yet on Saturday's evidence their hearts remain a lot less faint than their hopes. Ashley Ward and Neil Redfearn showed that heavy industry is still thriving in Yorkshire, and Martin Bullock displayed

the gifts to complement their graft.

Crucially, Barnsley seem to have realised at long last that defence is not merely doing round de edge de de pitch. It was admittedly a lapse in concentration which enabled Duncan Ferguson to equalise Fjortoft's header shortly before half-time, but it took crucial luck to put them behind in the 60th minute.

Tony Grant appeared to be aiming a cross at Ferguson when he looped the ball inside the far post, although his manager Howard Kendall gave him the benefit of the doubt. "He's a talented lad," he said, "and he likes the odd chip" though presumably not at Oakwell, which ranked only 47th in the recent Football Food Guide.

Barnsley came back strongly for their equaliser. Fjortoft and Redfearn both went close before Darren Ward, when he had hit the bar, and they were denied a winner only by Myrhe's excellence. Shortly after deflecting a long-range shot by Barnard, he made a fine stop from Arjan de Zeeuw's whizzer.

"It shows how far we have come that we can get a draw with Everton and be disappointed," said Barnsley's manager Danny Wilson. "We've had a good week, winning in the Cup and getting a point today. Now we can look forward to giving Manchester United a spanking [in the Cup] next Saturday. The confidence is very, very high and as long as we've got a breath in our body we'll keep fighting to the end."

Leicester City 1, Leeds United 0

Parker pens justice

Mark Redding

PUNXSUTAWNEY Phil could have predicted that this would be a tight game. Leicester City had scored only 27 league goals this season, Leeds United 34. But even the weather-forecasting groundhog from Pennsylvania could not have guessed at the last-gasp drama that lay in store at Filbert Street.

Leicester were leading from a Garry Parker penalty on the stroke of half-time when Leeds launched a breakaway in the 90th minute. Surrounded by home players, the Australian forward Harry Kewell attempted to juggle the ball over Spencer Prior and it hit the defender on the knee. In the process of the ball to the first half, Neale Barry pointed to the spot. It felt like Groundhog Day.

The Leeds hot-shot Jimmy Floyd Hasselbaink, top scorer with 12 goals, five in the previous six games, swaggered forward to take the kick. He essayed an elaborate run-up, stopped, started, dummied, shot, and the ball went wide. Leicester said thank you and pocketed three points.

"I'm upset, I think in a way I have let my team down," Hasselbaink said. "If I'd hit the target it was a goal; it only went wide by a few inches."

To make matters worse, Dutchman had practised his spot-kicking the day before against the Eng-

land reserve goalkeeper Nigel Martyn and had tucked away every one. Saturday's miss, he said, was his first in four penalties this season. "It sometimes happens, I just kicked it bad. It was one of those days."

Defeat was no more than Leeds deserved. George Graham's four side contributed little to a game dominated by an enterprising Leicester, and their fans apparently fended the home support with some of their songs. The Football Supporters' Association said yesterday that it was writing to Leeds to ask them whether they proposed to take any action over what were described as racist chants.

The Foxes were full of confidence after their victory at Manchester United, and Leeds had five players booked as the referee clamped down on their niggle approach.

The home side carved out enough openings to have won more comfortably but they really need a natural goalscorer to apply the gloss finish their sweeping brushstrokes deserve.

The centre-forward Emile Heskey, who earned the penalty when he was pulled back by Gennar Halle, holds the ball up skilfully and is a fearsome sight in full stride, but he has struck only three times this season, the last against West Ham on October 27.

"I feel justice was done in the last minute," said Leicester's manager Martin O'Neill. "All the clear-cut chances fell to us." Graham blamed the referee.

Newcastle United 0, West Ham United 1

Stan takes the laurels as Lazaridis rises from dread

Derek Potter

IT IS unlikely that Stan Lazaridis will ever score a more spectacular goal than the bullet from the hip he fired past Shay Given from 30 yards after 16 sombre minutes at St James' Park. Or one of greater significance, unless it be a May Day winning goal at Wembley.

The three points were welcome enough for a side who do not travel well. Newcastle's fifth home defeat asked rather than answered questions about the reconstruction programme launched by Kenny Dalglish, a process that took its latest step before kick-off when Shaka Hislop found his goalkeeping gloves handed to Shay Given. "He [Hislop] has exercised his right not to sign a new contract," explained Dalglish, "and the club has exercised its right to pick Shay Given."

Hislop will attract interest from Wolves and Valencia; meanwhile Dalglish's shopping spree seems to sign of an innocuous situation. A shot against an upright after a sparkling run by Andersson in the 28th minute and difficult half-chances for Speed and Gillespie. Neither enjoyed anything like the space afforded to Lazaridis or Paul Kitson, whose finish did Trevor Sinclair's long run scant justice.

"It was easily the best goal I've ever scored," Lazaridis said, adding that he believes West Ham can finish high enough to claim a place in the UEFA Cup next season - and compound his hatred of flying.

Speed, Much will depend on how Speed and the other newcomers Andy Griffin and Andersson's pace and variety suggest he will be an able foil for Alan Shearer; a fully match-fit Shearer would be a bonus in itself.

West Ham huddled from start to a finish extended by seven minutes and relished the treat of defending an away goal with Rio Ferdinand and Ian Pearce so strong and surefooted that Shearer hardly had a kick. With Glenn Hoddle an observer, Ferdinand could not have made a stronger case for inclusion in the England B team against Chile tomorrow. Hislop never had a chance to make his.

Cut Shearer out and you silence Newcastle, West Ham must have reasoned, and to be sure they kept a firm grip on the midfielders David Barry, Robert Lee and Keith Gillespie. Newcastle rarely looked comfortable chasing the game after Lazaridis's second goal of the season. The nearest they came to an equaliser was a shot against an upright after a sparkling run by Andersson in the 28th minute and difficult half-chances for Speed and Gillespie. Neither enjoyed anything like the space afforded to Lazaridis or Paul Kitson, whose finish did Trevor Sinclair's long run scant justice.

"It was easily the best goal I've ever scored," Lazaridis said, adding that he believes West Ham can finish high enough to claim a place in the UEFA Cup next season - and compound his hatred of flying.

Scottish Premier Division: Hearts 1, Celtic 1

Celtic are caught so late by Quitongo

Patrick Glenn

WIM JANSEN, Celtic's head coach, demonstrated remarkable forbearance after his team were the victims of outrageous larceny.

Not only were Celtic overwhelmed by a superior throughout a pulsating match, scoring through Jackie McNamara, but they had two goals disallowed, hit the bar twice and squandered numerous opportunities be-

fore Hearts' Angolan substitute Jose Quitongo equalised in the third minute of stoppage time.

Jansen spoke quietly of his "disappointment", a mild description in the circumstances. He would not even be lured into questioning the referee into questioning the referee.

Bobby Tait's thumping. Tait had consulted his watch several times in the minutes or so before Quitongo's improbable equaliser. "Maybe the match was just a few seconds too long for us," said Jansen. "But that's how

it is in this game. You have to keep it at it until the final."

February may prove the cruellest month for Celtic, as their performance here should have given them a two-point lead. Instead Rangers stay top on goal difference, with Celtic and Hearts also on 49 points.

After an early Hearts flurry, Celtic took control in every area and Morten Wieghorst was the first to claim he had been badly treated. After a corner from McNamara the Dane drove left-footed past Roddy

McKenzie but Tait disallowed it for handling. It appeared harsh and television evidence was inconclusive.

Still, McNamara appeared to have begun the march to victory when he scored on 40 minutes. Harald Brattbakk, who later missed four golden chances, came in from the left and supplied Henrik Larsson. The Swede claimed a penalty as he was hit by Paul Ritchie, but this ran to McNamara, whose six-yard shot slid past McKenzie.

There was still time before the interval for an uncharacteristic miss by Larsson, who dragged a shot wide after being sent clear by Brattbakk.

A Brattbakk effort was correctly disallowed for offside. Craig Burley's volley dipped on to the bar, and Stephana Mahe's powerful drive would have clinched victory had not McKenzie tipped it against the woodwork. But finally Quitongo arrived in the area to shoot off Mahe and away from Jonathan Gould, who had seemed to have the ball covered.

Rangers' taste for Advocaat

DICK ADVOCAT is expected to succeed Walter Smith as manager of Rangers. The PSV Eindhoven and former Holland coach said the Ibrox club had made an approach and he would probably accept, writes Patrick Glenn.

Some uncertainty surrounds the move, however, with a PSV spokesman saying they will hold him to his contract, which has 18 months to run.

David Murray, the Rangers chairman, is refusing to comment but it is understood that Advocaat, who won the Dutch title

with PSV last season, will take over when Smith leaves the club at the season.

Advocaat will find on recent evidence, that he has a difficult job on his hands if he is to fulfil his promise to turn Rangers into a force in Europe.

Saturday's dull 1-1 draw with Dunfermline was further evidence of a team in decline, with Paul Gascoigne looking particularly off-colour in midfield. When Harry Curran, the Dunfermline substitute, arrived late to equalise Sergin Porini's second-half goal, it meant the Scottish champi-

nns had dropped eight points in five games in 1998.

The Premier Division's bottom club Hibernian, meanwhile, need a new manager as soon as possible after their 3-0 defeat at Aberdeen when their football development manager Billy McNeill in charge, their chairman Lex Gold admitted.

Jim Duffy, the manager sacked by Hibs, is thought to be a possible target for Dundee, who yesterday parted company with John McCormack even though the club are five points clear in the First Division.



French lesson
Clive Woodward
contemplates
another defeat
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The Guardian Sport

Monday February 9 1998

www.football.guardian.co.uk

England's bowlers make inroads after dramatic batting collapse

West Indies v England: second Test, fourth day

Fraser the eraser leads the charge

ENGLAND pushed hard for victory yesterday afternoon as the West Indies, asked to make 282 to win on a pitch that had lost little of its capricious nature, reached 185 for five after 62 overs.

For a while Caribbean hopes had been raised by the opener Stuart Williams, who shrugged off a series of nasty blows as the pitch misbehaved and went on to play beautifully for 62. He added 52 for the third wicket with Carl Hooper, who was settling in and playing with uncharacteristic responsibility.

Having hit 11 fours, though, Williams was spectacularly caught by John Crawley at short leg as he turned Angus Fraser firmly off his hip, giving the bowler his second wicket of the innings and his first 10-wicket haul in Tests.

When, in the next over, Phil Tufnell had Shivnarine Chanderpaul caught at extra cover without scoring, West Indies were all but on the canvas.

Fraser soon had Jimmy Adams caught by Alec Stewart at second slip but the wicket-keeper David Williams offered stout resistance when he joined Hooper.

Earlier, England's second innings had folded from 214 for four overnight to 238 all out in 81 minutes. Curtis Ambrose taking five for 53, the 19th time he had taken five or more in an innings for West Indies.

The electronic clock on the scoreboard that had been hastily reconstructed before the match read 1.43 when Angus Fraser, England's hero of the first West Indies innings, struck a potentially match-winning blow.

West Indies would have had no illusions as to the size of the job in hand. Only three times previously in Tests on this ground had the fourth innings produced a higher total — when India famously made 404 for four to win in 1975-76, when Pakistan's 341 for nine saw them to a draw in 1987-88, and when Australia's 289 was insufficient to prevent them losing 15 years previously.

But this is Laraville owdays. Not half a mile from the ground stands the prime's palace, overlooking the Queen's Park Savannah and perched on a plot of land donated by the Trinidad government, serving as a reminder of his great deeds four years ago.

Now that he was home in Trinidad as captain of West Indies, he had promised more, shouldering responsibility where once he had appeared to shun it. If the match could be won, then Lara, it seemed, was the man who would do it.

In the third over after Sherwin Campbell had been smartly caught by Alec Stewart at second slip Lara had reached 17 — not without some trauma, as Andy Caddick's fierce breakback had earlier reduced his protector to scrap metal as the batsman to a throbbing heap when Fraser turned and trundled in for his eighth delivery from the pavilion end.

The ball was slanted across Lara, who played a strangely reticent stroke — half chided half dished — and it found the edge and flew straight to Jack Russell. Lara did not bother to wait for the decision, but walked straight to the cool of the pavilion and the comfort of an ice-pack. The crowd that had been cheering for more than an hour, as he and Williams added 56 for the second wicket, were stunned into silence.



King of Queen's Park... Angus Fraser send backs the West Indies captain Brian Lara, caught behind

Most Trinidadians find Panorama easier on the eye

BC Pires prefers the sound of steel to the sound of willow on leather

WHEN it comes to cricket in the Caribbean there is no such thing as a native realist from Jamaica to Guyana. It is genetically impossible for a West Indian to see a half-glass of water: the cup either runneth over or it runneth right out (see Kenya).

As England moved into an increasingly strong position in the second Test over the weekend, the crowd at the Queen's Park Oval thinned in inverse proportion. From Saturday afternoon to Sunday morning, many West Indian fans leapt from boundless optimism to groundless (perhaps) pessimism without touching reality in between. The stands, under one-third full at lunch and never more than half-full all day, reflected the change in outlook.

Of course there was the added distraction of Panorama at the Savannah a kilometre away.

It is impossible to convey the importance of Panorama, the national steel-band competition, to Trinidadians. Comparisons with Graceland, Deadheads and Manchester United fall way short. To a true Trinidadian, Panorama is like Elvis playing live with the Rolling Stones at half-time at Wembley with United five goals up in the FA Cup final and Madonna and the Spice Girls dancing naked in the goals.

It is widely partisan. There is less rivalry between the supporters of Liverpool and Everton than

between those of Phase II Pan Groove and Amaco Renegades.

The allure of Panorama is so strong that Test matches are deliberately timed to avoid a clash with the day of long preliminaries of the competition. But for the Sabina debate there would have been no cricket yesterday. The amplified steel bands and the DJ-supplied music can be heard at the Oval and the rest of day when it existed — was moved from Monday to Sunday.

The last time cricket and Panorama clashed was in 1981 — and there was no danger then of seeing Brian Lara lose his first Test match as captain. Yesterday morning the Pan had to be a safer bet for enjoyment

Caddick came considerably closer to knocking Lara out than bowling him out

than the cricket.

For a little while, though, some quick punishment of Andy Caddick made it seem that Lara would remind the doubtful that he is more fun than a few upturned oil barrels.

Last week Caddick publicly declared a showdown with Lara; truncheon was. Caddick failed to show up. He took no wickets in the first innings and came considerably closer to knocking Lara out than bowling him out in the second.

Any kind sentiment the

local public may have had for the bowler went with the gasp the local hero let out when Caddick hit him below the belt. In the end it was Angus Fraser who took Lara's wicket and much of the West Indian hope; a lot of mine anyway.

A cricket writer once gave me a formula for calculating any West Indies score: wait until Lara is out and then add 40. With Lara out at 67, this gave a total of 107, maybe 115 with extras, and I thought it was high time to head off to Panorama myself. My favourite steel band, the Phase II Pangrove, was scheduled to play early.

The scribes around me argued that, with only 200-odd runs to get and the five sessions and eight wickets in hand, there was no reason for West Indies to lose, but I could give them five: Hooper, Chanderpaul, Adams, and David and Stuart Williams, five batsmen who made a combined total of 71 runs in the first innings. Only Chanderpaul had scored more than Curtis Ambrose.

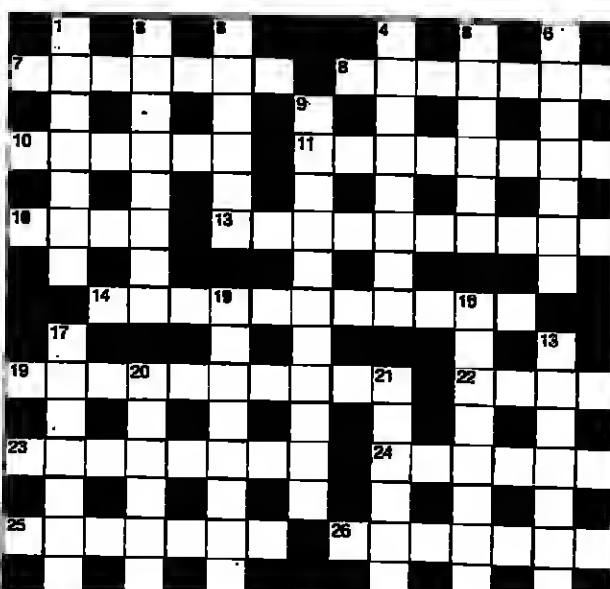
Still, I was easily the most worried West Indian at tea. The Oval was filled (or half-filled anyhow) with people who had chosen cricket ahead of Panorama. They may or may not have had better judgement than me but they certainly had greater optimism. Or I had greater pessimism. It was hard to see who was being realistic.

Then Chanderpaul was out for a duck and Adams for two and the only background colour place to be written was black.

So I went to Panorama. I had been right all along. It was impossible for a Trinidadian to have a bad time at the Savannah and damn hard for him to have a good one at the Oval.

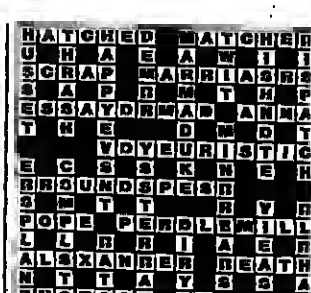
Guardian Crossword No 21,193

Set by Crispa



- Across**
- A youngster should be allowed outside at all times (7)
 - A point claimed in error (7)
 - Most pleasant when in charge in the home (6)
 - A break for everybody playing a part (8)
 - She's a little over-anxious (4)
 - Objects to going around before shows (10)
 - This is really breathtaking! (11)
 - Vacating it can be stimulating (10)
 - Always right behind the first lady (4)
 - The piece of lamb being minute, one prepared stuffing (8)

- Down**
- It's a stimulant, however one may regard it (7)
 - Combine making charge about trade collapse (5)
 - High-minded individual interrupting a fellow just to annoy (6)
 - Guy in singlet, casual shirt, or formal wear (8)
 - Wear about commercial abuse (6)
 - The song "Many an Adieu" (7)
 - Judges, not for the first time, get credit (11)



This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are A P Cooper of Leamington Spa, G H Barton of Whiston, Nottingham, Judith Daniels of Littleborough, Lancs, Tim Watson of London Road, Worcester, and Mrs Mary Boothroyd of Liverpool.

Please allow 28 days for delivery.

- A green banana left a worker in much discomfort (8)
- Inequitable? Indeed so — quite wrongly (3-5)
- A month in Medoc to be remembered (7)
- The hopes of French family men (7)
- In advance, as soldiers should be (2,4)
- There's danger in concocting such a plot (6)

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NEWSPAPERS RECYCLING

Leader of the pack

England Test best bowling figures against West Indies			
Angus Fraser	8-58	Port of Spain, February 1988	
Angus Fraser	8-75	Bridgetown, April 1994	
Tony Greig	8-86	Port of Spain, March 1974	
Ian Botham	8-103	Lord's, June 1984	
Trevor Bailey	7-34	Kingston, March 1984	
Dominic Cork	7-49	Lord's, June 1986	
Trevor Bailey	7-44	Lord's, June 1987	
Fred Trueman	7-44	Edgbaston, July 1963	
John Snow	7-48	Kingston, February 1989	
Eric Hollies	7-50	Georgetown, February 1935	
James Langridge	7-56	Old Trafford, July 1938	
Bill Voce	7-70	Port of Spain, February 1930	
Jim Laker	7-103	Bridgetown, January 1948	
Tony Lock	8-20	The Oval, August 1957	
Phil Tufnell	6-25	The Oval, August 1991	



Scoreboard

ENGLAND: First innings 214 (N Hussain 67th, A J Stewart 50)			
West Indies: First innings (overnight: 177-7)			
C E L Ambrose c & b Fraser	31		
N A M McLean c Fraser	0		
A R C Fraser c Hooper b Ambrose	0		
S C Williams not out	0		
Extras (b1, lb6, w1, nb1)	11		
Total (75.1 overs)	191		
Fall of wickets: 1-143, 148, 202, 225, 238, 238, 243			
Bowling: Benjamin 15-3-40-0; McLean 12-1-40-2; Ambrose 18.5-4-52-5; Walsh 28-6-57-3; Hooper 19-3-55-0			

WEST INDIES: Second innings			
S C Williams c Stewart b Hooper	10		
S C Williams c Crawley b Fraser	12		
J P Crawley lbw b McLean	22		
N Hussain c & b Walsh	22		
G P Thorpe c Lara b Walsh	12		
A J Hollis c Lara b Ambrose	12		
19 C Russell lbw b Ambrose	0		
A R Caddick c O Williams b Ambrose	0		
O Williams not out	0		
S Chanderpaul c Thorpe b Ambrose	0		
A R C Fraser c Hooper b Ambrose	0		
P C R Tufnell c O Williams b Ambrose	0		
Extras (b4, lb16, w1, nb1)	11		
Total (94.5 overs)	258		
Fall of wickets: 10, 68, 120, 121, 124, 124			
To leave C E L Ambrose, N A M McLean, K C B Benjamin, C A Walsh, D G Bennett, C A Walker and S Venkatesh			

In the morning Ambrose in particular was irresistible. Maybe he and Courtney Walsh had been stung by Lara's curious decision not to give the new ball to either of them on Saturday. Ambrose, ignoring the second new ball that was available after just two deliveries, surged in from the northern end to take five for 15 in the space of 42 balls.

It has been a good game for the old sweats Ambrose, Walsh and, of course, Fraser, about whom there is something talismanic. An unusually high proportion of English wins in the past eight years have been on the back of his personal successes, and his effort on Friday afternoon

and Saturday morning places him in the top flight of those who have played Anglo-Caribbean Tests.

Only two bowlers, namely the Indians Kapil Dev and Subhash Gupte, have produced a better analysis against West Indies than his eight for 53; Fraser himself held the previous best figures for a visiting bowler in the Caribbean, achieved in Bridgetown four years ago when, by his own admission, he might have bowled better.

No Englishman now has taken more Test wickets in the Caribbean.

The tumble of morning wickets was relentless: Hollies taken at first slip; Russell lbw to a shooter, although the ball may have pitched outside his leg stump; Thorpe hit on the hand, beaten twice and then caught by Lara again in a tumultuous over from Walsh; and then the precise picking-off of the tail. On this of all grounds there was an unwelcome familiarity.

There's more where this came from
www.westindies98.co.uk

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